923.643
Rau|Bar/Lif
24026

00024026

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

JOHN REUCHLIN,

OR

CAPNION,

THE FATHER OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

B1056

24026

BY

FRANCIS BARHAM, ESQ.

EDITOR OF THE HEBREW AND ENGLISH BIBLE, COLLIER'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, &c.

"Diu vixit Reuchlinus, si quid ea res facit ad felicitatem hominis. Reliquit nunquam intermoritura virtutis suæ monumenta. Benefactis consecravit nomen suum immortalitati. Nunc exemptus malis cœlo fruitur."—ERASMI APOTHEOSIS CAPNIOINS.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE.

1843.

925.643
PCU/Barr/Lit
24026

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

NO LESS DISTINGUISHED FOR EPISCOPAL DILIGENCE

THAN FOR THEOLOGICAL LEARNING,

IS

THIS BIOGRAPHY OF REUCHLIN DEFERENTIALLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

VERY DUTIFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In the title-page of this work, Reuchlin, or Capnion, is called the Father of the German Reformation ; for he appears to be better entitled to this honourable appellation than any other individual. Born in 1454, several years before Erasmus, Luther, and Melanchthon, he was expressly acknowledged by these great men, who were his pupils, to have been the originator of that religious amelioration which they so gallantly carried forward : and this fact has been more recently confirmed by D'Aubigné, who allots to Reuchlin's biography, the earlier pages of his History of the Reformation, justly regarding him as the very source and fountain of the purest streams of protestant intelligence.

The notices that have hitherto appeared of Reuchlin, or Capnion, in this country, though all laudatory, are little better than small passages in Church histo-

ries, biographical dictionaries, or lives of his contemporaries.

On the continent, however, far more attention has been paid to him. The excellent and learned Maius, a native of Pforzheim, and a first-rate Hebrew scholar, like Reuchlin himself, wrote his biography in very lucid Latin. Chancellor Schrurrer has also written a Life of Reuchlin, as having been one of the principal Hebrew and Greek professors who presided over the early destinies of the admirable university of Tübingen.

The work, however, to which the reader is mainly indebted for Reuchlin's biography, is Mayerhoff's German Treatise on Reuchlin and his Times, which has been translated and incorporated in the present publication.

Our English literature, in many respects so rich and exuberant, is yet extremely defective in the biographies of many of the most illustrious men the world has produced. In illustration of this remark we may mention the names of Reuchlin and Savonarola, who exercised extraordinary influence over their contemporaries, and whose lives have frequently been written in foreign languages; yet no biographical records of these master-spirits have appeared in this country, until undertaken in the series of works of which the present is intended to form a part.

The biography of Reuchlin is necessarily more philosophic than dramatic. 'He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;' and chiefly as a scholar—the most learned professor of his age—he acted with reference to the Reformation. Let no man, however, esteem Reuchlin the less on this account; for scholarship then was far more dignified and influential than it appears to be at present; and it gave its possessors a certain sway over society, that cannot now be paralleled. The learning of Reuchlin and Erasmus lent a solidity and majesty to the cause of the Reformation, which no mere zeal, nor heroism, nor eloquence, could ever have imparted.

The life of Savonarola, born two years before Reuchlin, was on the contrary more dramatic than philosophic. In that transcendent Reformer of Italy we find less of the scholar than the prophet. His mysterious and impulsive destiny drove him forth from the quiet devotions of the monk into the stirring politics of the Florentine Republic. His course was a career of restless and perilous agitation, a vehement crusade against Borgianism and Machiavelism—a contest of intense tragic interest, like that of Dante and Rienzi, and Bussolaro, and Martinuzzi.

We trust that the time is at hand, when the biographies of men like these,—men raised up by God to accomplish the awful task of human regeneration —men, whose gigantic genius, aspiring to the sphere

of Deity, at once ennobled and astonished the race to which they belonged, will be more frequently composed for the English public. The writings of Ranké, D'Aubigné, and other scholars, have been so well received of late, that we venture to hope, that a taste for a higher and purer literature is beginning to revive among us, and that many authors, who are striving to encourage its developement, will find the reward of their labours.

Yet were any scholar now to arise, who should attempt to elevate the literature of Britain, as Reuchlin elevated that of Germany, where would he find men discerning enough to appreciate him, or generous enough to aid him ?

CONTENTS.

PART I.

PAGE

Introductory view of the Life and Times of John Reuchlin 3

PART II.

Life of John Reuchlin till the year 1509; his influence upon the Reformation, by the promotion of learning .. 35

PART III.

Reuchlin's dispute with the Colognese; its effect on the Reformation, and his last years..... 113

PART IV.

Character of Reuchlin 213

APPENDICES.

PAGE

I.—Apotheosis of Reuchlin, by Erasmus..... 235

II.—On the Character and Authorship of the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum..... 242

III.—Biographical Notes 254

IV.—Reuchlin's works, and their various editions.... 271

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART I.

Introductory View.

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART THE FIRST.

INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN REUCHLIN.

THE middle ages were neither so dark nor barbarous as many pretend. Those who are best acquainted with the history and progress of literature, are agreed that many noble and splendid scholars existed at every period, from the fourth to the fourteenth century, who laboured indefatigably in the pursuit of truth. Such men, in their sequestered studies, continued to carry forward the great work of human enlightenment—and often anticipated the so-called discoveries of modern times, with a skill that excites astonishment, and a courage that demands admiration.

These were the true heroic ages of intellectual resurrection. The master minds that flourished in them won every fragment of the religion and philosophy they sought, by dint of toils and sufferings, which litterateurs of these days can hardly imagine. Alone in the stern solitudes of their own genius, or attached to secret societies, ecclesiastical or theosophical, they pursued the lingering traces of eternal

truth, with the vehemence of martyr students. They were thrown continually on the resources of their own talents and energies, unsupported by the force of authority, uncheered by the smile of friendship. In traversing the vast and idle deserts of the ruined empires of literature, they were obliged to make the ways they could not find already prepared; and in the ardour of faith, rather than that of sight or knowledge, to pass through unknown means to unknown ends.

It is this circumstance which invests the scholars of the middle ages with a distinct and transcendant charm—the charm of moral heroism. They share in the kindly sympathy with which we regard the history of Abraham, the father of the faithful, when with no supporters but his God and conscience, he left his father's house, and went into strange lands as a pilgrim and a sojourner. And we read their biographies with something of the same undefinable and thrilling interest, which is excited by the simple record of Marco Polo the discoverer of China, and Columbus the discoverer of America. For these scholars, urged on by the love of Divine truth, its own best reward, hesitated not to travel into the remotest and fearfullest regions, to encounter perils desperate in themselves, and rendered horrible by the superstition of their times, and spend and be spent, in what appeared a thankless cultivation of the ungrateful and indignant muses:—to sacrifice health, eye-sight, life itself, in the fatigues of copying mouldy parchments; and rejoicingly to renounce the hard-earned savings of years of awful exhaustion, for the purchase of some almost illegible roll or palimpsest, in which they expected haply to find some key to the mysteries of initiation, and the symbolic wisdom of the sages.

When we compare this kind of Promethean ardour,

which signalized the names of Photius and Psellus and Erigena and Alcuin and Maurus and Aben Ezra and Gerbert and Abelárd and Dante, with the tame selfish prudentialities of more modern literati, we are urged to acquiesce in the doctrine of those religious writers, who assert the superintendence of Providence over the affairs of literature. God saw it necessary that gigantic souls like these should arise, to triumph over almost insuperable difficulties, and He himself raised them up. He gave them that philologic genius which was required by men who had first to create the intellectual materials with which they were to build the high edifices of science, and to compose those dictionaries for themselves, by which they were to master the languages. And hence, many of them were endowed with a preternatural talent of learning, and distinguished themselves for acquirements of knowledge under difficulties, for which it would be hard to find a parallel in modern cases. Nay, so surprising were their attainments, that they were very generally accused of magic, for magical indeed must their superiority have appeared to the superstitious victims of monasticism, or the rude and undisciplined populace.

The intellectual light which had thus been struggling on through tempests of passion and vapours of ignorance, to illuminate the world, at length burst forth in unusual splendour in the fifteenth century. It was then that the great master pieces of antiquity (including the Bible and the classics) were suddenly circulated by the invention of printing among the emulous aspirants of the Church, the Lodge, and the Schools.

Among the best scholars of this fifteenth century, arose John Reuchlin, Capnion, or Capnio, usually termed the Father of the German Reformation, whose life and times are now first published in English.

The name of Reuchlin, in German, signifies smoke: just as *reek*, the English derivative from it, as the inhabitants of Auld Reekie are sufficiently aware. This name Reuchlin, was often substituted by its Greek equivalent Capnion or Capnio. This was the fashion of the age—especially of Reuchlin's friends. Thus Gerard, which signifies amiable, assumed the name of Desiderius Erasmus. And Schwartserdt, which means black earth, assumed the title of Melanchthon.

Horace has left men this golden rule—'non *fumum* ex fulgore, sed ex *fumo* dare lucem.' By which he means to say, that the excellence of wit consists in eliciting light out of smoke, and not smoke out of the light. This rule Reuchlin appears to have applied to himself in a most pointed sense. For he was the chief instrument of rekindling the light of literature in Germany, and eminently successful in striking the sparkles of intellectual radiance out of the dark relics of buried and forgotten learning.

Reuchlin's most salient intellectual characteristics are the following. First, a certain *originality*, very remarkable in his position. He always speaks and writes like himself, and himself alone. He maintains his idiosyncrasy, his individuality, on all occasions, as distinctly as Goethe or Schiller. Another of his qualities is *boldness*—a certain audacity, which induces him to state great truths in the broadest, strongest terms. He also possesses great *amplitude* and catholicity of mind. He takes extended views of things, developes general principles, and shows their application to numberless particulars. Mingled with this largeness of heart, he possesses extreme *accuracy* of learning; all his expressions and allusions are perfectly definite and exact, with well defined and resplendent points and edges. He does not loom large in the mist of hazy speculation—he does not

smuggle contraband sophistries under cover of a fog of learning, or a cloud of authorities. Besides all this, he possesses an extraordinary variety of style. The philosophic, the mystic, the dramatic, the oratorical, and poetic, are all discoverable. His forms of expression are so fresh and racy, that they evidently gush forth from the ebullient depths of a warm and fruitful heart. He wears his cumbrous, yet splendid learning, as lightly and gallantly as the knights of chivalry bore their emblazoned armour in the stories of Tasso, Ariosto, and Spenser. Ay, there is even a playfulness or sportiveness conspicuous in his compositions. And his latinity is as graceful and natural and native as that of Erasmus himself.

In his ardent pursuit of theology and universal literature, Reuchlin especially distinguished himself by his knowledge of the Hebrew and Cushite languages, no less than those of Greece and Rome. He retrieved the oriental as well as the classical sciences.

It is thus to Reuchlin that we are mainly indebted for the revival of Hebrew and Cabalistic literature in Europe. He himself was the principal Hebrew scholar of his day, and composed Hebrew grammars and dictionaries, which have been rarely excelled by subsequent authors. Besides this, he was instrumental in rescuing the Hebrew manuscripts from the flames, and thus preserving the literature of the Jewish nation. The case was this. Some miserably ignorant and superstitious monks petitioned that all Hebrew manuscripts should be burned on this plea. 'If,' said they, 'these manuscripts agree with the Bible they are unnecessary, if not, they are mischievous.' This ridiculous plea had not even the merit of originality, for Omar had used it centuries before in relation to the Koran, when he

sacrificed the great library of Alexandria—an enormity, for which literature has devoutly cursed his memory. Against this plea, Reuchlin strove with all his energies, and succeeded in rescuing these precious relics of Biblical, Rabbinical, and Cabalistic science from the hands of the destroyers.

His contest with the monks on this and on other occasions, is most amusingly and wittily told, in his celebrated Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, (epistles of obscure men,) which he is said to have composed in conjunction with Hutten. These epistles, in their way, are just as brilliant and satirical as Erasmus' Colloquies, or Pascal's Provincials, and deserve the celebrity which they have obtained.

It appears from a review of Reuchlin's character and writings, that he attained an admirable *serenity* of mind. This serenity is one of the best and ripest of all dispositions; it is the bright consummate flower of true philosophy,

> 'The soul's calm sunshine, and the heartfelt joy,
> Which nothing earthly gives, nor can destroy.'

But Reuchlin had attained a higher serenity than even the best philosophy can impart, the serenity of divinity—the peace of God which passes all understanding. A glorious and transcendant condition: serenity of the saint and the sage, how rarely art thou realized in this world of perturbation and discord! This serenity is one of the most marked characteristics of Deity himself manifest in the flesh. In the character of Him who is the author and finisher of our faith, there exists a serenity more sublime than we can express; an ineffable peace, surpassing all description, and which reminds us of the ever energetic, ever tranquil motion of the orbs of heaven.

Something of the same transcendant serenity appears likewise in the character of Socrates—

> 'That content, excelling wealth,
> The sage in meditation found,
> And walked with inward glory crowned.'

To this condition the noblest souls aspire with ceaseless and anxious labour; they aspire to stand on the sunny summit of the mountain of Faith, high above the stormy clouds of passion. For this they cultivate the solitary and majestic science of devout prayer and communion with God as their chief good, and gaining more and more of his fulness, they learn the divine art of contentment, and an heroic contempt of the world. Such men conquer what Milton calls

> 'The last infirmity of noble minds,'

the desire of fame, the universal passion; they subdue even the best of passions, fame and love, into a most loyal subjection and submissiveness to the higher law of faith. Thomas a Kempis and the spiritual and mystical divines, are exceedingly eloquent in recommending this temper of mind, which is thus beautifully described in Sir Henry Wotton's Poem on the Character of a Happy Life—

> 'Blest is the man who God doth pray,
> More of his grace than gifts to send,
> And entertains the harmless day,
> With a religious book or friend.
>
> How happy is he born and taught,
> Who serveth not another's will;
> Whose armour is his honest thought,
> And simple truth his utmost skill.
>
> Whose passions not his masters are,
> Whose soul is still prepared for death;
> Untied unto the worldly care
> Of public fame, or private breath.

Who envies none that chance doth raise,
Or vice—who never understood
How deepest wounds are given by praise,
And owns no rules but rules of good.

Who hath his life from rumour freed,
Whose conscience is his strong retreat;
Whose state doth neither flatterers feed,
Nor ruin make oppressors great.

This man is freed from servile bands,
Of hopes to rise and fears to fall;
Lord of himself, though not of lands,
And having nothing, yet hath all.'

In this sacred serenity of disposition Reuchlin, like Erasmus, considerably excelled Luther. Luther was less serene than vehement, he sailed straight before the wind of sublime and mighty passions, he delighted in controversy, and exulted in victory. But for this very reason he was probably better fitted for actual intense encounter with the strong-holds of superstition, and the liberation of European intelligence from the tyranny of ignorance.

Such spirits are indeed invaluable to the world, and are at all times needed by it. And always does the world really need them most, when it believes it needs them least. Even now, likewise, are the heroic genii of another Reformation necessary, for wherever there exist abuses there should also be the reformers of abuses. New Savonarolas, new Reuchlins, new Erasmuses, new Luthers, are demanded even in this nineteenth century. We want, oh, how intensely! those divine and inspiring intelligences, who arise like prophets to reveal far higher conditions of being, than any that have yet been realized. But where can such be found? ay, where? 'Who now (says Isaac Taylor) ventures to rise to the upper sphere of celestial meditation? Who forgets the world, its mad-

ness and its scorn, as he enters the gates of immortal hope? Who is it, that, as if the contemners of heaven were not in hearing, converses with and concerning the glories of the Supreme?' And if such a man were to appear, a divine and prophetic man, who would now support, or patronise, or cheer him? A few would appreciate, or understand him; but by the multitude he would be derided and persecuted, if not martyred. So it has been before, and so it will be again.

Erasmus was much interested in the great controversy which Reuchlin maintained in favour of Hebrew Literature. This cause, which was determined at Rome, according to Reuchlin's desire, raised considerable commotion. We translate the following account of it from Burigny's Life of Erasmus.

John Pfettercorn, a converted Jew, wished to engage the Emperor Maximilian to suppress all the literary works of his countrymen. Reuchlin, the most learned scholar of his age in the three languages, (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) opposed this counsel, and stated, that among the writings of the Rabbins there were some of high utility; and that it was proper to preserve all these Jewish documents, or at least those which in any way illustrated the history of religion; even if those written against Christianity were sentenced to destruction. This discussion gave occasion to two books very famous at the time, though now known to the learned only. Pfettercorn maintained that every work from the pen of a Jew should be destroyed without mercy. He endeavoured to establish his argument for this universal demolition in a book which was entitled *Manuale Speculum*. In this he represented Reuchlin as a Jew in disguise, who hated Christianity, under a flattering exterior. Unfortunately for Reuchlin, he was very much embroiled with the Monks, who had long disliked him

for his satirical remarks on their various abuses. He had formerly written a comedy entitled Henno, in which he ridiculed their corruptions with more of truth than discretion. (Vide Seckendorf.) The Bishop of Worms advised him, as a friend, to suppress this piece; and he followed this prudent advice. But some one having clandestinely procured a copy, got it printed without Reuchlin's consent. The irritated Monks never forgave him. He however justified himself from the accusations of Pfettercorn, and recriminated on his antagonist, in his *Speculum Oculare.*

The monks now thought they had discovered an opportunity of being revenged on him. They determined not to let it slip, and entered heart and soul into the quarrel. Hoocstrate, prior of the Dominicans of Cologne, placed himself at the head of the party opposed to Reuchlin. And he engaged the theologians of the university of Cologne, to extract from the *Speculum Oculare* those propositions which they thought susceptible of condemnation. Reuchlin asserted that these extracts were made unfairly and unfaithfully, and defended himself in an apology addressed to the emperor. This dispute occasioned a legal process before the elector of Mayence. Reuchlin named as his agent, Peter Statelius, who refuted Hoocstrate. This refutation was, however, not allowed by the court, and Statelius appealed to Rome. The sentence that was passed against Reuchlin at Mayence, being thus brought under the immediate cognizance of the Pope, he appointed the bishop of Spires to examine the affair. On his nomination, judges were appointed to cite Hoocstrate before them. He not having made his appearance, was condemned for contumacy to pay the costs, the decree of the theologians of Cologne was annulled, and the book of Reuchlin justified. (Hist. Univ. Bib. des Domin.)

The university of Cologne, however, ordered Reuchlin's *Speculum Oculare* to be burned. The faculties of Erphord, Mayence, Louvain, and Paris, approved of this measure of Cologne. And the Sorbonne decided that the book of Reuchlin contained various propositions that might be suspected of heresy, and therefore well deserved a fiery castigation. On this Hoocstrate repaired to Rome, where he had credit enough to obtain, in the year 1518, an injunction of silence on both sides. It is said that Hoocstrate did not spare his money to stay proceedings.

While the cause was in debate at Rome, Erasmus wrote to Pope Leo X. that Reuchlin was a man of consummate merit in all the sciences, and the very Phœnix of Germany. (Epis. I. and II.) He solicited for him, in the most pressing terms, the favour of the cardinals Grimani and St. George. He assured them that in protecting Reuchlin they would render an essential service to the whole literary world, and entitle themselves to the gratitude of all scholars. (Epis. II. III.) It was rather the sense of justice and esteem, than any great personal intimacy, which induced Erasmus thus to espouse the cause of Reuchlin. These two great men seldom had the good fortune to enjoy personal conferences, though their epistolary correspondences were frequent. Erasmus wrote to him a letter of excellent advice, begging him not to treat his adversaries in too satirical a vein, nor to rouse the resentment of the religious orders, however he might have reason to complain of some ill treatment. (Epis. V. and XV. against Hutten.) He likewise gave some recommendations of forbearance to Hoocstrate, on whom he specially enjoined moderation and courtesy, as befitting a Christian, a theologian, and a Dominican. He informed him that the more kindness and charity he showed for his adver-

sary, the more willingly would people believe that he was animated by zeal for Christianity, rather than personal ambition. (Epis. XIX. and XVI.)

Reuchlin's book was popular at Rome during the pontificate of Leo X. It seems that the praise of Erasmus, who then possessed many powerful friends, told strongly in his favour. Subsequently, however, the Roman court took a different view of the matter under Paul IV. and Clement VIII., and condemned his book, placing it in the list of the Index Expurgatorius, issued by order of the council of Trent.

It was this affair of Reuchlin which gave rise to the already mentioned—*Epistles of Obscure Men*, which some attributed to Erasmus himself, but with little reason. In this work we find a humorous epitaph written on Hoocstrate, while yet alive, by some friend of Reuchlin's. It runs as follows:—

'Hic jacet Hoestratus, viventem ferre patique
Quem potuere mali, non potuere boni:
Ipse quoque excedens vitâ indignatus ab illâ,
Mœstus ob hoc, quod non plus nocuisset erat.'

Here Hoocstrate lies, the foe of all the good,
The friend of ignorance and turpitude;
He died of this incurable regret—
That some still lived he had not ruined yet.

Some time after Reuchlin's death, Erasmus thought himself in duty bound to celebrate the memory of a man, for whom he cherished the deepest esteem. He therefore made an apotheosis of him in one of his celebrated colloquies, in which he introduces a Cordelier, who states that he had seen in a dream St. Jerome, who received Reuchlin into heaven, to which he had been transported by a chorus of angels. Erasmus concludes this apotheosis, in which he ranks Reuchlin among the saints, by beseeching him to protect the

holy languages, and to punish the wicked and the slanderous.

The remarks of Jortin in his Life of Erasmus on this subject are as follows:—

'Reuchlin, or Capnio, as he was called, gave Erasmus an account how he was persecuted by the divines and monks of Cologne. Erasmus gives him a high character, and complains in strong terms to cardinal Grimani of the cruel usage which Reuchlin had experienced in his old age for the most frivolous causes. This excellent man was one of the restorers of letters in Germany,—well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—honoured by all the learned and illustrious of his time, in Church and State—hated and persecuted by monks and inquisitors, by the *minorum gentium sacrificuli*, yet singularly fortunate in not being overpowered by such formidable enemies, and dying at last in peace, without being hanged or burned. Erasmus had the courage to write his apotheosis, and to make him Saint Reuchlin.'

As to the work—the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, Sir Thomas More informed Erasmus, that it met with very general approbation, even from the blockheads who were derided therein, and had not the sense to feel the satire. This book was attributed to Erasmus, Reuchlin, and others; but in part, at least, was probably the work of Hutten. One Peppercorn, a pretended proselyte from Judaism, and, which is often the case, a real knave, wrote against it, and complained that it was designed to spread some heresy, though what heresy he could not tell. Erasmus allows it to be witty, but condemns it, and with it all anonymous and defamatory libels, the exploits of gentlemen whose delicacy and modesty will not permit them to set their names to their works—works, which like a candle's end burning in the socket, soon cease both to blaze and to stink.

In his Spongia, he says it was composed by three persons, whom he names not. He seems to have spoken the more warmly on this ludicrous occasion, because he was unjustly suspected of some libels which appeared at that time, and therefore he declares that he never wrote any books to which he did not put his name. But after all, these Epistles of the Obscure may be considered as a piece of harmless mirth, levelled against men who were not only egregious boobies, but, which was infinitely worse, shameless calumniators, and blood-thirsty persecutors. Smiler in his life of Bullinger says, that when Erasmus read these epistles, he fell into such a fit of laughing, that an abscess in his face burst, which else should have been laid open by order of his physician.

The studies of Reuchlin among the Rabbins and Cabalists of the Jewish Church, and the early fathers of the Christian Church, gave a remarkable colour to his mind. They appear gradually to have induced him to aspire after God, as the All in All, in a spiritual manner. In this respect he seems in some measure to have anticipated the views of Mendelssohn's Jerusalem.

Reuchlin's peculiar views of theology were probably strengthened by the works of Philo Judæus, Justin, Origen, Clement, Dionysius, Gerson, A'Kempis, Taulerus, and other mystic and Platonic divines. I say Platonic, for from the time of Justin Martyr, who called Plato and Socrates eminent Christians, many theologians had looked upon the Platonic philosophy as the holy handmaiden of Christian theology, and had devoutly used it as a subordinate revelation of God's eternal truth to the Greek nations.

It is necessary for me to say thus much respecting Reuchlin's theological views. Like Taulerus, author of the famous Theologia Germanica, he asserted that the very essence of religion consisted in the develope-

ment of the life of God in the soul of man, by faith and prayer. To extend a vital inspiring divinity, an inward life of spiritual faith, was the great purpose of Reuchlin's theologic writings, no less than those of Fenelon.

Now this ascension to God, this hidden life of faith, which Reuchlin especially unfolds in his magnificent work, entitled the Mirific Word—probably gave a strong impulse to that doctrine of faith which Reuchlin's illustrious disciples, Luther and Melanchthon, afterwards displayed. It is true they are not nearly so transcendental and mystic as Reuchlin: their views were more exoteric, more popular, and familiar, but they were not less distinguished than Reuchlin himself, for the preference of inward spiritual communion with God; in fact, the deification of the soul by stedfast faith and prayer. This they stated to be the very essence of all true religion, whether Roman or Protestant, and they continually exposed the folly of relying on mere outward ceremonials of the Church, and formal visible observances, as often useless, and sometimes mischievous.

The publication of the Life and Times of Reuchlin, who exercised so marked an influence over Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, and the chief spirits of his age, will, I trust, afford a key to many passages of the German Reformation, which have not yet been understood in this country. They will reveal many of the secret causes, the hidden springs, which were moving the external machinery of several ecclesiastical reforms, which were themselves valuable, rather as symbols of a spiritual under-current, than as actual institutions and establishments.

'Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.' Fortunate is it for the student of truth when he can thus discover the causes of effects. When he is allowed to examine the origin of those changes and revolu-

tions, which but for this intelligible process would look like monstrous and unaccountable abortions, obeying no law, and owning no reason. Fortunate is he who is thus allowed to step behind the scenes of the world's drama, and hear the plans proposed, and the *pros* and *cons* of the counsellors, which give rise to lines of action.

We live in times in which history is philosophically studied. Authors are now impressed with the necessity of directing attention to God, as the great First Mover of all events,—with that pious regard to Providence which distinguishes the pages of Bossuet and Chateaubriand, and Miller, and Faber. I hope, likewise, to see the day when the most critical and psychological biographies of the men who have most moulded the times, will be brought to bear on history. All changes and revolutions have begun in the metaphysical experiences of individuals, and can only be explained by them :—

> 'It is the spirit of some single mind
> Makes that of multitudes take one direction,—
> As roll the waters to the breathing wind,
> Or roam the herd beneath the bull's protection.'

The present work will explain many interesting facts connected with the Reformation, which have hitherto perplexed many critics and historians. Its value will soon be recognized, as a book occupying a vacant space of ecclesiastical history, and filling up a very deplorable chasm in the records of literature.

The pleasure of unearthing a truly great man like Reuchlin, of procuring him a literary resurrection in the British empire, and making him live and speak in the open arena of fame, is particularly great. Cicero asserts, 'vita mortuorum in memoria vivorum posita est'; the life of the dead exists in the memory of the living. Whether this be true or not, another

Latin adage is clearly indisputable, 'Paululum sepultæ distat inertiæ celata virtus,' hidden virtue bears a close resemblance to buried sloth. And therefore from the sequestered retirement of rare and difficult books in foreign languages, we evoke the spirit of Reuchlin, to breathe its wisdom in our glorious native tongue, and to inspire the deep clear stream of English undefiled.

The high esteem in which Reuchlin was held by Luther, will appear from the following celebrated letter.

LUTHER'S LETTER TO JOHN REUCHLIN.

'God be with thee, brave man. I give thanks for the mercy of God manifested in thee, in that thou hast been able to stop the mouths of the blasphemers. Thou, though unconsciously, wert the instrument of the Divine counsels, greatly desired by all friends of a purer theology. Thou and thy followers had thought to carry on the matter one way, but God turned it another. I always wished to show myself as one of thine own, but no opportunity presented itself, yet my prayers and my good wishes were ever with thee. What was then denied to me as thy ally, falls abundantly to my share as thy successor, for the fangs of this Behemoth fasten on me, as if they would wipe out the disgrace which they endured in the quarrel with thee. I also resist them, if with far less power of mind, yet with no less confidence than thou didst oppose to them, and whereby thou didst hurl them to the ground. They refuse to fight me, and will not answer, but press on with might and power; but Christ lives, and I can lose nothing, for I possess nothing. Thy force has no little broken the horns of these beasts; by thee the Lord has brought it about that the tyranny of the Sophists has at last learnt to

withstand the true friends of theology more prudently and mildly, and that Germany has begun to breathe again, after having been for so many centuries oppressed, nay, almost annihilated by the school theology. The beginning of better learning could only have been effected by a man of no small gifts, and, as God did (if the comparison may be permitted) reduce into dust the greatest of all rocks, our Lord Christ, and afterwards from this dust raised so many rocks, so wouldest thou have brought forth but little fruit, if thou hadst not also been killed and trodden into dust, whence now arise so many defenders of the Holy Scripture. Thus is the prayer of the sighing church heard; 'Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth; for the faithful fail from among the children of men, and the vilest men are exalted.' But, am I not bold, that without any complimentary preface I speak so freely to thee? This is the doing of my soul, which is bound to thee, which is intimate with thee not only by memory, but also by studying thy works. Besides, what finally induced me to write to thee is, that our Philip Melanchthon, the extraordinary man who exceeds other men in almost every quality, and whom I so much love and esteem, inclined me to this letter by leading me to hope that thou wouldest not be displeased, but rather receive it willingly if I should prattle a little to thee. Thou must place it to his account, if it should appear to thee any otherwise than that I wished to show my sincere inclination to thee by this letter. Farewell, rejoice in the Lord, thou, my most honoured teacher.'

Not to weary the reader with any further remarks, this introductory portion cannot be better closed than by quoting the sketch of Reuchlin, which has recently appeared in D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, before mentioned with praise.

'To the triumph of truth it was before all things necessary, that the arms with which she was to conquer should be drawn from the arsenals in which they had been laid aside for ages. Those arms were the sacred writings of the Old and New Testaments. It was necessary to revive in Christendom the love and the study of the sacred Greek and Hebrew literature. The man chosen by the Providence of God for this task was named John Reuchlin.

'A boy's voice of fine quality was distinguished in the choir of the church of Pforzheim, and attracted the notice of the Margrave of Baden. It was that of John Reuchlin, a young lad of agreeable manners and lively temper, the son of an honest burgher of the place. The margrave soon bestowed on him his entire favour, and chose him in 1473 to accompany his son Frederick to the university of Paris.

'The son of the Pforzheim bailiff, with a heart filled with joy, arrived along with the prince in the most celebrated school of all the West. He found there the Spartan Hermonymos, and John Weissel, surnamed *the light of the world*, and he thus had an opportunity of studying under able masters the Greek and Hebrew languages, of which there was then no professor in Germany, and of which he was to be one day the restorer in the country of the Reformation. The young and needy German copied for wealthy students the songs of Homer and the speeches of Isocrates, and thus earned the means of continuing his studies and of buying books.

'But, behold, here are other matters which he hears from the mouth of John Weissel, and which make a profound impression on his mind: 'The popes may be mistaken. All human satisfactions are a blasphemy against Christ, who has perfectly reconciled and justified mankind. To God alone pertains the power of granting entire absolution. It is

not necessary to confess one's sins to the priests. There is no purgatory except God himself, who is a consuming fire, purifying from every stain.'

'Scarcely arrived at the age of twenty, Reuchlin teaches philosophy, Greek, and Latin at Bâle; and, what was in those days a prodigy, Greek is heard to issue from the lips of a German.'

'The partisans of Rome begin to feel uneasy at beholding generous minds engaged in investigating those ancient treasures. 'The Romans look sour,' said Reuchlin, 'and make an outcry, giving us to understand that all these literary labours are contrary to Roman piety, since the Greeks are schismatics.' O! what pains, what sufferings must be undergone to bring back Germany at last to wisdom and knowledge!'

'Soon after, Eberhard of Wurtemberg called Reuchlin to Tübingen, to become the ornament of that newly-founded university. In 1487 he took him with him to Italy. Chalconydas, Aurispa, and Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, became his companions and friends in Florence. At Rome, when Eberhard received a solemn audience of the pope surrounded by his cardinals, Reuchlin pronounced a discourse in Latin so pure and elegant, that the assembly, expecting nothing of the kind from a barbarous German, was thrown into the greatest astonishment, and the pope exclaimed: 'Assuredly this man deserves to be set by the side of the best orators of France and Italy.'

'Ten years afterwards Reuchlin was obliged to take refuge at Heidelberg at the court of the elector Philip, to escape from the vengeance of Eberhard's successor. Philip, in concert with John of Dalberg, bishop of Worms, his friend and chancellor, was labouring for the diffusion of knowledge, which was beginning to make way in every part of Germany.

Dalberg had established a library, the use of which was permitted to all men of learning. Reuchlin made great efforts on this new stage to overcome the barbarism of his countrymen.

'Sent on an important mission to Rome by the elector in 1498, he availed himself of all the time and all the money he could spare, either to make further progress in Hebrew, under the learned Israelite Abdias Sphorne, or to purchase whatever Greek and Hebrew MSS. he could lay his hands on, that he might employ them as so many torches to increase the light beginning to shine on his country.

'An illustrious Greek, Argyropylos, was then expounding to a numerous audience in that metropolis, the ancient marvels of his people's literature. The learned ambassador presented himself with his suite in the hall where the doctor was teaching, and on entering saluted the master, and deplored the misfortune of Greece expiring under the blows of the Ottomans. The astonished Greek inquired of the German: 'Whence art thou, and dost thou understand Greek?' Reuchlin replied: 'I am a German, and I am not wholly ignorant of thy language.' At the request of Argyropylos he read and explained a passage of Thucydides which the professor had that moment before him. Argyropylos then, overcome with astonishment and grief, cried out: 'Alas! alas! Greece, exiled and fugitive, has gone and hidden herself beyond the Alps.'

'It was then that the sons of rude Germany and those of antique and learned Greece encountered each other in the palaces of Rome; that the East and the West joined hands in that place of congress to the nations of the world, and that the one heaped upon the hands of the other those intellectual treasures, which it had rescued in hot haste from the barbarism of the Ottomans. God, when his designs

require it, often brings together in an instant, by some grand catastrophe, things that seemed made to remain for ever widely sundered.

'On his return to Germany, Reuchlin was allowed to re-enter Wurtemberg. Then it was, especially, that he accomplished those labours so useful to Luther and to the Reformation. He translated and explained the penitential psalms, he corrected the Vulgate, and what above all constituted his merit and his glory, he was the first to publish in Germany a Hebrew grammar and dictionary. By this work Reuchlin reopened the long-closed books of the Old Testament, and thus raised a monument, as he himself said, 'more durable than brass.'

'But it was not alone by his writings, but in his life too, that Reuchlin sought to speed the reign of truth. His influence over the young generation was great, and who can tell how much the Reformation owes him in this respect? We will cite an example of this. A young man, a cousin of his, son of an artist renowned as a manufacturer of arms, named *Schwarzerd*, took up his abode with his sister Elizabeth, in order to study under his direction. Reuchlin, delighted at beholding the genius and the diligence of the young scholar, adopted him. He bestowed liberally upon him counsels, presents of books, examples; nothing in short did he spare to make of his relation a man useful to the Church and to his native land. He exulted in seeing his work prosper beneath his hand, and deeming the German name *Schwarzerd* too barbarous, he translated it into Greek, according to the custom of the times, and named the young student *Melanchthon*. This was the illustrious friend of Luther.

'The pacific Reuchlin soon found himself, much against his will, hurried into a violent contest, which constituted one of the preludes to the Reformation.

'There was at Cologne a baptized Jew named Pfefferkorn, closely connected with the inquisitor Hochstraten. This man and the Dominicans solicited and obtained from the emperor Maximilian, perhaps with good intentions, an order, by virtue whereof the Jews were to carry all their Hebrew books (the Bible excepted) to the town-hall of the place where they resided. There those writings were to be burned. The reason alleged was, that they were filled with blasphemies against Jesus Christ. It must be owned they were at least full of nonsense, and that the Jews themselves would not have suffered any great loss by the intended execution. They did not think so, however, and no one had a right to take from them works to which they attached a great value. Besides, it is not impossible the Dominicans had other motives than zeal for the Gospel: it is probable they hoped by this means to extort large sums from the Jews.

'The emperor requested Reuchlin to give his opinion on these works. The learned doctor distinctly marked the books written against Christianity, surrendering them to the fate intended for them; but he endeavoured to save the rest. 'The best means of converting the Israelites,' he added, 'would be to establish in every university two teachers of the Hebrew language, who should teach the theologians to read the Bible in Hebrew, and thus to refute the doctors of that people.' In consequence of this advice, the Jews obtained the restoration of their books.

'The proselyte and the inquisitor, like famished ravens deprived of their prey, broke out into cries of rage. They selected several passages of Reuchlin's writings, perverted their sense, proclaimed their author a heretic, accused him of a secret leaning to Judaism, and threatened him with the chains of the Inquisition. Reuchlin suffered himself at first to be alarmed: but

these men setting no limits to their growing arrogance, and imposing shameful conditions upon him, he published, in 1513, 'a defence against his detractors in Cologne,' in which he depicted the party in glowing colours.

'The Dominicans vowed vengeance. Hochstraten assembled a tribunal at Mainz against Reuchlin. His writings were condemned to the flames. Reuchlin appealed to pope Leo X. That pope, who had no great love for these ignorant and fanatical monks, referred the whole affair to the bishop of Speier, who declared Reuchlin innocent, and condemned the monks to the costs of the process.

'This affair was regarded as very important, and made a great noise in Germany. It exhibited in the most odious light the numerous class of theological monks: it knit more closely the union subsisting between all friends of learning, then called Reuchlinists, after the name of their celebrated chief. This struggle was an affair of outposts, which influenced the general battle afterwards given to the forces of error by the heroic courage of Luther.

'The union of letters with faith constitutes one of the characteristic features of the Reformation, and distinguishes it alike from the first establishment of Christianity, and from the religious revivals of our day. The Christians of the time of the apostles had against them the intellectual culture of their age; and with some exceptions the case is the same in our day. The majority of men of letters were on the side of the reformers. Public opinion even was favourable to them. The work gained thence in extent; perhaps it lost in depth.

'Luther, recognizing all that Reuchlin had done, wrote to him shortly after his victory over the Dominicans: 'The Lord hath acted in thee, so that the light of the Scriptures should begin to shine in this

Germany, where for so many ages, alas! it was not only smothered, but wholly extinguished."

We now proceed to give a more strictly historical and circumstantial account of Reuchlin's Life and Times, principally borrowed from the pages of Mayerhoff, Maius, Erasmus, Brucker, and other foreign sources. It is with regret that we observe that Berington, Roscoe, Hallam, and other English authors, who have investigated the literature of the middle age, have too much neglected the subject of these memorials, and that they afford little light, where much is required.

The celebrated Dr. Neander has prefixed the following preface to Mayerhoff's German biography of Reuchlin.

'In complying with the wish of my beloved young friend Dr. Mayerhoff, that I should introduce his first literary production with a few explanatory words, I also follow the impulse of my own heart, in accompanying with my hearty good wishes, and earnestly recommending to the learned public, and especially to my own friends, on this his first public appearance, one who has for several years been peculiarly endeared to me by his rectitude and genuine love of truth.

'It is certainly a good sign that Dr. Mayerhoff has not, as often happens in these days, when every thing tends to over-hasty ripeness, begun his literary labours with what, according to the natural developement of a theologian, should be the last thing, the result of mature age and study; for by so doing, many, before they have had time for independent cultivation, giving themselves up to the service of a party, forge fetters for all the rest of their intellectual lives. My dear friend, on the contrary, first exercises himself in a narrow sphere, in which the youthful mind is better able to act spontaneously. In general, monographies are particularly fitted to assist the pro-

gress of the individual who devotes himself to them, as well as to promote literature.

'And as to the subject selected by Dr. Mayerhoff for his first monography, it is one of the most interesting to these times. As returning centuries present in a new and striking manner to the consciousness of our contemporaries, the memory of the great Christian revival to which our evangelical church owes its existence; so must the remembrance of those great men employed by God as instruments in preparing for this new order of things, gain fresh interest. But among them, Reuchlin takes the most considerable place next to Erasmus. Luther himself wrote to Reuchlin, that no remarkable new manifestation of the Divine word had ever taken place except a John the Baptist had preceded, making way for it by the revival of knowledge, which, according to Luther's idea, may particularly be applied to what Reuchlin effected in this respect. And, besides, by fighting for freedom against slavery of mind, Reuchlin helped to establish that which is, and ever will be, an indispensable condition of all healthy developement of the human mind.

'The period to which Reuchlin actually belonged, especially resembles ours, inasmuch as that the new system in the Church had not yet arisen, but was only prepared, and that the lot which falls to our time, is to make ready great things which are to come. In such times there usually appear many conflicts between the old and the new, light and darkness. In the age of Reuchlin the contrasts were more simple, in ours more complicated, and the mingling of light and darkness produces many compounds and shadowings.

'Hence, what Reuchlin combated re-appears in divers forms; and he who would be the Reuchlin of our days, must fight against mental tyranny in many

ways and shapes. To the viris obscuris belong all those who would set up and be zealous for any sort of strange fire of their own invention, instead of the Divine light which shines on mankind in Christ. This, therefore, is an invitation to every one to look for themselves into the description of this interesting period given by Dr. Mayerhoff.

'*Berlin, June* 26, 1830. NEANDER.'

Dr. Mayerhoff's own preface follows :—

'In this attempt at a biography of Reuchlin, I present my readers with a work which I was induced to write by my delight in studying the history of the Reformation. The knowledge of the century preceding the Reformation (or at least the time from the middle of the fifteenth century) appeared to me peculiarly worthy of attention, in order to be able to form a just idea of the developement of the Reformation ; and yet this time has been generally little regarded, though it affords so much for the history of religion, civilization, and literature. People have usually only employed themselves on a general representation of this period, neglecting the biography of individual great men who were the genii of the times, and thereby have left its history incomplete, which is a disadvantage even in the narrative of the Reformation. To supply this deficiency, according to my small powers, and also out of respect for a man who wholly belongs to this age, I have chosen Johann Reuchlin ; and this appeared to me the more desirable, as Erasmus, the parallel character, has had many biographers, and lately in Dr. Müller, one worthy of him. I feel, indeed, the difficulty of my undertaking, but still I venture upon it, that I may at least smooth the way for some future more skilful writer.

'I endeavoured in accomplishing this work to keep

in view the requisites for a biography, and to proceed in describing the exterior life according to the common rules of good narrative and portraiture, to recognize the interior, and analyzing its reciprocal workings with the exterior, to keep to nature and truth in representation, writing neither a panegyric, a bare chronicle, nor a mere character. As to what concerns more profound views, the manner of perception and description depends upon a correct estimate of the relation of individual lives to the history of the world. As the parts of every whole are themselves also wholes, but find their true effective position only in their connexion with the one whole, so is it with the history of the world, which is the perpetual union of the finite and the infinite, in, and by means of time and the history of individuals. A single life, though it forms a separate portion in itself, is yet again on account of this relation only a certain mode of common human nature, and to ascertain this connexion is the problem of historians of every kind. For this reason, the biographer must compare the facts of a life with the general idea of human nature which exists in each mind, more or less complete according to the diversity of capacity, and he has then obtained a correct notion of the individual, when he can thus explain and deduce all the actions of life as a certain modification of the whole. Such an idea, however, arises from the times in which the individuals acted, and therefore can be perceived and described only by and in them. So is it also the task of the biographer to point out the dependence of the individual on the idea (or *spirit*) of the times, his influence on its formation and progress, and its re-action on himself. Those individual lives in which this influence on futurity is not apparent, can present no materials for biography in the strict sense of the word, and are not matters of general history; yet they constitute epochs more or

fess, according to their measure in carrying into execution the Divine will. That Reuchlin in this respect deserves a biography, will be abundantly evident from the narrative of his life. That I have attained the perfection of such a biography as I wished and should have done, I dare not hope, how far I have approached it, I leave to the decision of my readers.

'That the history of Reuchlin's life unfolds the history of his age, follows inevitably in the biography of this great man; for during important revolutions the history of an influential man expands almost into general history, and especially in the peculiar circumstances of these times.

'In what concerns the particulars of the biography, I think I ought to excuse myself to many readers, to whom it may appear, perhaps, that here and there some portions are treated at too great length, for instance the dispute with the Colognese, and the tedious lawsuit of Reuchlin with his enemies. I direct their attention to my particular object, namely, to give a brief account in narrating the combat at Cologne, of the manner in which many of those involved in it thought and acted, as well as of their share in the liberal literary impulse of the age, and to notice several men not generally mentioned in histories of the Reformation; in describing the process accurately, I had occasion frequently to relate occurrences to be found in the well-known Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum. I present my hearty thanks to the principal librarian at Stuttgart, Dr. Stälin, through whose kindness alone I obtained copies of several works of Reuchlin's to be found there.

'May this little treatise, in which the good Father granted me his assistance, prove useful. Written in 1830, at the commemoration of the confession of Augsburg, three centuries back.'

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART II.

From 1455 to 1509.

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART THE SECOND.

LIFE OF JOHN REUCHLIN TILL THE YEAR 1509; HIS INFLUENCE UPON THE REFORMATION, BY THE PROMOTION OF LEARNING.

BEFORE the manifestation of Christianity, individuals were appointed by God to prepare men's minds in various ways for its reception. In this, as in other things, there appears a certain analogy between the epoch of its commencement and that of the Reformation. The spreading corruption had raised an opposition, and through the strife, truth, which by separate instruments in different manners works to a single aim, pressed forward with new force. The lives of such gifted and apostolic characters open to the enquirer an extensive and profound view of their times, and each biography is more or less the history of a cycle. The combat in which the champion of righteousness stood forth, brought him into contact with many friends and enemies, whose style of thought and action may often be traced even to minute particulars in his personal history. Such a distinguished man in the period preceding the Reformation, whose

life represents to us that of a great multitude, was JOHN REUCHLIN.

The narrative of his experience contains an abridgement of the history of learning in Germany, at the beginning of the Reformation. Therein is mirrored the whole state of religion, of the cultivation of literature, of the manners and customs of the era. His long influential career, which lasted almost till the outbreak of the Lutheran controversies, contributes the not inconsiderable portion of half a century towards the knowledge of periods which were important, through manifold disputes. No other biography but that of Reuchlin thus comprehends the days previous to this religious revival, or is so connected with its contests in different directions, both singly and in the aggregate. Erasmus, a most powerful instrument of Providence in preparing for this new illumination, lived later, and was so much acted upon by the Reformation itself, that his life cannot give so striking a picture of this moral revolution. It is true, that in him likewise, opposition to the corrupt world is clearly manifest, but it is neither so important nor so influential, because it is not so open, and appears only in particular instances. The biography of Reuchlin is not only valuable and instructive on account of the knowledge to be obtained from it of his age, but also for the power he exercised over his own and succeeding generations. The true foundation of this sway, however, is to be traced in the animating principle of his era, which he expressed strongly and simply in word and deed, being called forth by antagonism, by depravity, and strengthened by the battle with them in his disposition to aspire after truth, to which in Reuchlin all else was subservient, and which he sought to acquire and to purify, not only for himself, but also that he might confer it upon all his contem-

poraries. Here we find the key to his entire life and actions, and here is exhibited his greatness and his authority.

Reuchlin's early education gave him the direction which his vigorous active spirit plainly required; therefore it is much to be regretted, that so little is discoverable concerning his elementary instruction and his domestic circumstances. He appears first in history as a well-established youth, whose exertions and conduct lead to the inference that he was respectably brought up. Reuchlin was born at Phorzheim in the year 1455[1], on the 28th of December[2], and educated by his virtuous and honest parents, George and Eliza Erina, together with a younger brother, Dionysius, and a sister, Elizabeth, if not in affluence, at least not in great poverty.

Gehres, in the description of the curiosities of Pforzheim, mentions a chronicle, in which he found that the father of Reuchlin had been a common messenger. This information seems to agree well with the later somewhat necessitous circumstances of Reuchlin.

Sent by his father to the then flourishing Latin town school, Reuchlin there learned the rudiments of language and music. His active industry, and consequent successful progress, raised much expectation. His serene spirit, his lively social disposition, united to gentleness, gained him the love of his teachers and

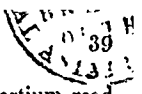
[1] Crusius, in his Annalen der Schwäbischen Geschichte, gives it 1445: Melchior Adam, in his Vitis Philos. Germ. s. 17, Frkf. 1705, fol. 1454; but on the contrary, there is Reuchlin's own account in his letter to Cuspinian, in the Sammlung der Briefe des R. und an R., Hagenau, 1519, s. 03.

[2] Bartholomæus Sastrow in his life (published by the Hrn. Consistorial—Rath Mohnike Greifswald, 1823), part i. vol. vi. ch. iii. gives a striking simple description of Phorzheim on the confluence of the Würm, and the Nagold in the Enz, upon whose rise Reuchlin (de Verbo Mirifico, lib. i. cap. i.), Melanchthon (Oratio de Capnione, in the third volume of his Declamations), and Majus (Vita Reuchlini), tell various tales.

schoolfellows. Among many other talents, the youth had that of song, to which the natural gift of a good voice contributed much. It was well cultivated, and this very accomplishment smoothed his path towards further improvement. At the end of his 17th or the beginning of his 18th year, he was called to the court at Baden, and received among the court-singers or choristers. His whole character, his sprightly mind, and sufficient advance in grammar, caused him to be remarked, so that at the commencement of the year 1473, he was sent with the young Margrave Frederic (eldest son of Charles I., afterwards from 1496 to his death 1517, bishop of Utrecht), who was nearly of the same age, to the high school of Paris[3]. This was one of the most famous academies of the west, to whose rise Petrus de Alliaco, (Pierre d' Ailly,) and his celebrated pupil John Gerson, head of the council of Constance, as also Nicolas de Clemangis, had especially devoted themselves with much success. At this time, after the taking of Constantinople (1453), some fugitive learned Greeks went to Paris, and transported thither, with many other literary treasures, the Hellenic language, which for many centuries had been wholly unknown. Thus Reuchlin learnt from the pupils of Tyfernas (not from Tyfernas himself, as Melanchthon, and others who follow him therein, erroneously give out) the principles of Greek literature, and was afterwards the first German who communicated them to his countrymen.

He endeavoured now to improve in Latin, which hitherto for want of sound teachers and assistance he had acquired but superficially, and therefore in Paris he attended the lectures of the famous grammarian, Johann de Lapide, doctor of the Sorbonne, upon Valla's Elegantiæ Latini Sermonis. This man was a German,

[3] Melancht. in Oratione de Johanne Capnione, in his Declamations, vol. iii. R. Brief Seg. p. 155.



who had travelled to Paris, and, as magister artium, read what was called the humaniora, and who for his reputation had been chosen rector of the university in 1469. It happened that Johann Lapidanus was guided by an inward impulse to the study of theology, and that his enquiring mind was gradually led from the nominalism, then generally received, to realism, which henceforth he diffused with all his might in Basil, and afterwards in Tübingen, whither Eberhard 'the *bearded*' had summoned him. In Paris itself, king Louis XI. issued an edict against the nominalists, which Johann Lapidanus had procured (1473). At the period of the combat between these two tendencies, Reuchlin came to Paris, and since he took an active part in all that concerned religion and science, he was drawn into the strife. He soon decided for the party of Lapidanus, which appeared to have great influence on his later course. Besides this celebrated countryman, Reuchlin attended William Tardivus of Amiens, and the rhetoric of Robert Sanguinus. But, alas! when he had scarcely begun to satisfy his eager thirst for knowledge, he was for awhile disturbed in his studies, as he was probably obliged to go home with the young Margrave Frederic. But early in the year 1474 he returned to Paris, to continue the labours he had commenced.

Meanwhile [4], Hermonymus of Sparta, a fugitive

[4] Brusslg. p. 135, in ep. ad Jacobum Fabrum, he says:—'Quodque non ignorarent, me ante omnes annis citra quadraginta rursus Alemanniæ scholam Græca elementa docuisse, quæ ipse ego quondam in vestra Gallia ex discipulis Tifernatis adolescens Parisiis acceperam. Demum post aliquot annos e Suevia rediens ad Parisios, Georgium Hermonymum Spartiatem Græce docentem assecutus sum,' &c. In the words, post aliquot annos, is some obscurity. If Reuchlin came to Paris in 1473, left it again in the same year, and returned in the beginning of the year 1474, the expression, post aliquot annos, is extraordinary, since it was in the follow-

from Constantinople came to Paris, and taught the Greek language with much applause. From him Reuchlin learnt the Greek calligraphy, and by practice made such proficiency in it, that by copying the authors whom Hermonymus expounded, he not only gained his living, but by degrees purchased many works. Even this, although a most tiresome business, was especially useful to him: he read in this manner many verses of Homer, orations of Isocrates, and separate parts of the dialectics of Aristotle, so often and assiduously, that, as Melanchthon assures us, he could ever, in advanced age repeat whole passages from them. But of far greater advantage to all his future course was the accompanying study of Aristotle in the original. The whole edifice of the scholastic doctrine of his commentators, consequently, fell away from him, like a thing as foreign to the genius of Aristotle as to that of Christianity,

ing year. Meiners, in the first volume of his Biographies of Celebrated Men in the period of the restoration of literature, in which he gives the life of Reuchlin, tries to help himself out of the difficulty (p. 48), by taking the year 1474 as that of his return; so that thus Reuchlin would have remained the whole year 1474 at home, and have returned to Paris in the second year after his first sojourn there; which might agree with *aliquot*. But this position is untenable; for in 1474, according to the University Acts of Basil, Reuchlin was already matriculated there. Schnurrer, in a short life of Reuchlin, in his biographical and literary notices of the former teachers of Tübingen, on account of this difficulty rejects the second journey to Paris, indicated by Reuchlin in these words, but places the second journey still later; for which no arguments present themselves, and, on the contrary, many reasons against it: this, however, is not justifiable; for it may be more readily admitted that Reuchlin did not use the expression so strictly, and that he only meant to indicate that he returned to Paris in a different year from that in which he had first gone thither, than that he has stated the whole matter incorrectly. Besides, many such inaccurate dates present themselves in Reuchlin, as we shall see hereafter.

and there arose in Reuchlin's mind a disgust to the web of sophistries which they had created from the Arabic corruptions of the Stagirite. At this time, also, the disciple of the truly pious Thomas à Kempis, Johann Wessel of Groningen, called by his friends *lux mundi*, and by his enemies *magister contradictionum*, was living in Paris, and distinguished himself as much by acuteness, as by complete knowledge and the defence of evangelical doctrines. By this person Reuchlin was led to study the Bible, and, as Melanchthon assures us, learnt from him the elements of the Hebrew language. The teaching of this excellent old man was not lost on the improving young Reuchlin, and doubtless greatly influenced his unfettered mind.

Wessel, who loved Reuchlin for his gentle, liberal spirit, exhorted him to prosecute the study of Greek with the utmost zeal; and when he met him again in Basle, took a still further share in his intellectual culture. To this place Reuchlin came at the end of the year 1474, and listened with much earnestness to the Greek Andronicus Contoblacas. A fortunate circumstance here greatly advanced his education, and satisfied both his industry and his desire for a more thorough acquaintance with Attic lore. It was this: The cardinal Nicolaus de Rhagusio [5], who had been sent by Pope Felix V. as legate to Constantinople, to urge the Hellenists to take part in the council of Basle, had brought several Greek codices to that city, of which Reuchlin availed himself

[5] Not Nicolaus de Susa, that singular philosopher and adversary of scholasticism, who was also present at the council of Basle, whom Melanchthon confounds with Nicolaus de Rhagusio, and so does Meiners, who follows Melanchthon in this. The Acts of the University mention no codices brought by Nicolaus de Susa, but they do mention those brought by the other. Brucker, Hist. Crit. vol. iv. p. 360.

with much profit during his stay there. He gave lectures on the Latin language, explained the classics, and practised literature with more regard to grammar than elegance, because that seemed to him most necessary under existing circumstances. He soon obtained such a reputation that the brothers Amerbach desired him to compose a Latin dictionary, which he began in his twentieth year, and soon after caused it to be printed. Melanchthon's opinion of it was, that 'it was a work much in request at that time, when no better books of the sort were extant; and had also been very useful.' He became magister artium in 1477; and according to the advice of Andronicus, who in a letter conferred upon him a sort of diploma, began to teach Greek. His method of laying the greatest stress upon grammar, also gave so much satisfaction, that his college course was soon the most frequented. But the more his celebrity and the applause bestowed on him increased, the more apparent were the envy and dislike of other professors, who saw themselves more or less cast into the shade by him. Besides, his controversy with the scholiasts, as he referred to the sources of the Platonic and Aristotelian doctrine, still more provoked the old teachers of philosophy and theology; for they saw their lecture-rooms become daily more empty, and their style more contemptible; and they universally exclaimed against the perversity of the new illumination, though their hostility was ineffectual[6].

Reuchlin writes on this subject to the cardinal Hadrianus: 'The old trammeled sophisters turn up their noses, and cry out in the most laughable way, that we carry on literary affairs adverse to Romish piety, for the Greeks are schismatics, and yet we

[6] Reuchlin's work De Accentibus; preface to Cardinal Hadrian.

venture to diffuse their doctrines, though forbidden by the laws of the Church. See now, Adrian, how much my method of study costs me, and what difficulties the sophists put in my way, because I endeavour to cure Germany again,' &c. Love and admiration for this young sage rose still higher in those who lived in closer intimacy with him: his benevolence, a natural cheerfulness and exalted piety, his moderation in the enjoyment of pleasure, and his diligence, procured him many friends, who especially felt and lamented their loss when Reuchlin went to Orleans, to occupy himself in jurisprudence[7].

His principal business here was, as he himself declares in the preface to his Rudiments, the study of civil and Roman law, and lectures upon the Latin and Greek languages. The number of his hearers increased daily, and among them he gained zealous friends and supporters. There were nobles of high rank from Germany as well as France, who esteemed and loved him, and afterwards assisted and defended him. Having addressed himself to his former teacher, Hermonymus, for help in the completion of a grammar, for the sake of his lectures on the Greek language, Hermonymus answered,—He was particularly delighted with his elegant Attic letter, and begged him not to neglect this tongue, in which his talent and industry had already so far advanced him. Reuchlin now, in 1479, while he was taking his bachelor's degree, accordingly composed a Greek grammar, under the title of Μικροπαιδεία, after which he gave lectures in Poitiers, whither he went in the same year. Here he became licentiate of civil law,

[7] Meiners gives the year 1479; but against him there is a letter of Hermonymus of Sparta, to Reuchlin, during his stay at Orleans, in February, 1478.

and received express permission to apply for his doctor's degree elsewhere [8].

When the first reforming movement began, especially in Lower Germany, Reuchlin determined to be useful to his native country, and, first in his birthplace, to contribute his share towards the revival of learning and true religion. He hastened therefore to Tübingen, and caused himself to be entered in December, 1481, in the hope of being employed in the new university founded by Eberhard 'the Bearded.' At first he practised as advocate, and so gained, not only his maintenance, but a great reputation. His pecuniary circumstances, which had not been very prosperous either at Basle or in France, now permitted him to marry; and his marriage, though childless, was as happy as it was lasting.

He, as well as his friends, bear the most favourable testimony to his wife in their letters. Rudolf Agricola, in a letter to Reuchlin, commends the important step which he could not prevail on himself to take, and wishes him health and happiness in it. It soon happened that Reuchlin was made known to Eberhard the elder, being most highly recommended by the friends he had acquired partly in France, partly in that city. Pleasant were the hours he passed in literary labours during his sojourn in Tübingen among such companions as John Fergen (Nauclerus), chancellor of the university, friend and tutor of the prince, Gabriel Biel of Spire [9], and Summenhart [1],

[8] The diploma drawn up on the 14th of June, 1481, is in the collection of Reuchlin's Letters. Upon the history of this period, compare the preface to his Rudim. Hebraic.

[9] First preacher in Mentz, then in Urach, whence he was called to Tübingen.

[1] Summenhart, a native of Wirtemberg, who came as Master of Arts from Paris, 1478, to Tübingen, and there became Doctor of Theology, the 12th of October, 1489.

eminent scholars, by whom the forms of the schools were still more discarded; the devout Wendel Steinbach, pupil of Biel, and godfather to Eberhard and Louis Fergen, his brother.

His acquaintance with the prince began in a somewhat curious way. Papal nuncios had come from Italy (so Caspar Bucher says in a discourse printed at Tübingen, in 1615, entitled Mercurius), who were then to take their leave. The high chancellor, a Hechinger, otherwise a good, clever man, had even in Latin the detestable pronunciation, which is still to be heard among the inhabitants of this district. He made his oration in the following tone: 'Ceilsissimus et eilustrissimus naoster prainceips eintellexit,' &c. The Italians were astonished at this speech, and thought it never could be meant as a dispatch for them. In this embarrassment the by-standers remembered Reuchlin, who could speak pure Latin. He was called, carried on the discourse in a dialect cultivated by practice and travelling, and was generally praised and admired [2].

He soon became the prince's favourite companion, private secretary, and privy councillor, and, as such, accompanied Eberhard in his second journey to Rome, in 1482. This journey, so agreeable to Reuchlin, was commenced by Eberhard, under the conduct of his councillors and friends, Naucler, Biel, and Peter of Arlun. They arrived in Rome on the Sunday before Lätare, on which day the Pope was accustomed to consecrate a golden rose for every prince in Christendom. This honour was conferred on Eberhard on account of his services to the holy chair, and because he had taken the trouble to come in person to show his veneration for the sacred place, as a

[2] Schnurrer, l. c. u Manlii Loc. Comun. coll. Basle, 1562, p. 47, relates it somewhat differently.

papal document informs us[3]. The Pope himself, Sixtus IV., conceived a great respect for Eberhard in the conversation he had with him, but not so Eberhard for the Pope and the Romish Church, since he saw much at Rome, of which he could by no means approve, and which diminished his former reverence for the holy see.

Reuchlin, meanwhile, to the joy of all good Germans, earned no inconsiderable fame in Rome. When Eberhard paid his respects to the Pope, surrounded by his cardinals, he made an oration in such pure fluent Latin, and with so polished an elocution, which was then little expected from an ultramontane who had not studied in Italy, that the whole assembly not only heard him in preference to any other German, but listened even with admiration; and the Pope himself declared, that Reuchlin deserved to be placed among the best orators of France and Italy. From this time the prince kept Reuchlin always at his side, showed him all possible regard, and employed him in all important embassies.

From Rome Eberhard took his journey to Florence, which town had in this century become a new focus of free enquiry, wherein arts and sciences prospered under the protection of the house of Medici. The conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet II. occasioned the transfer of many literary treasures into Italy by the fugitive scholars, who found a good reception in Florence. Besides these, there were acting in concert with Lorenzo di Medici for the revival of learning, such men as Marsilius Ficinus,

[3] The Pope Leo in his bull to the Elector Frederic, of the 24th of October, 1518, by which he presented him through Miltitz, with the golden Rose, gives an explanation of this symbol; 'by which,' says he, 'is the body of Christ represented, which is the flower of flowers, more fragrant and glorious than all which the earth produces.'

Count Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, Aurispa Philelphus, Angelo Politiano, tutor to the sons of Lorenzo (Peter, the successor of his father, and John, afterwards Pope Leo X.), with whom the Greek Demetrius Chalcondylas allied himself, who however left Florence as soon as the learned Politiano had enticed away all his hearers. It was Marsilius Ficinus, who by the diffusion of Platonism in opposition to scholasticism was a precursor of what may be called the re-appearance of Christianity, and whose fame brought so many young men to Italy, and whose friendship was so useful and improving to Reuchlin [4]. When Eberhard came with his companion to Lorenzo, the latter showed him his treasures, and, among these, his collection of books [5], on whose value and beauty Reuchlin exclaimed aloud in the utmost admiration. Upon this, Lorenzo went up to him, and promising to discover to a man so athirst for knowledge a yet more precious treasure, he opened an apartment, in which Angelo Politiano was instructing his family in polite literature. This spectacle, as well as the wisdom of the prince, surprised and delighted not only Reuchlin, but Eberhard so much, that he cried out: 'Indeed, friend, there is no more precious treasure for a father than such children [6].'

[4] Reuchlin says of him and Politiano, 1494, de Arte Cabal. p. 1: "Marsilius Ficinus Græciam duxit in Latium, Romanos in Græciam reduxit Politianus."

[5] Reuchlin de Arte Cab., preface.

[6] Majus in his Vita Reuchlini, Durlach, 1687, which is indeed industriously compiled, but often written carelessly and uncritically, leaves a chasm of six years in the life of Reuchlin, from 1481 to 1487. He relates this journey of Reuchlin, but places it in the year 1487, and then supposes Reuchlin to have remained in Rome till 1490. He follows here, as he does generally, Melanchthon, whose short discourse contains much error. In this period two journeys of Reuchlin to Rome took place; the one mentioned, and a second of the year 1490. In contradiction of Reuchlin's having been in Rome from 1487

Reuchlin's efficiency in Tübingen was interrupted, after his return to his own country; for he lived now in Stuttgard, where Eberhard remained, and here became licentiate and assessor of the supreme court in 1484[7]. A year after, the order of Dominicans elected him their proctor, not only in Swabia, but in the whole of Germany, which office he exercised twenty-nine years with great integrity, and without any hope of gain[8]. A year later, when Reuchlin had taken his doctor's degree in Tübingen, Eberhard the pious sent him with two other companions, Louis Bergenhaus (Fergen), and Hermann of Sachsenheim, on the coronation of Maximilian, the first king of the Romans, 1486, to Frankfort, Cologne, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Here he had the first opportunity of gaining

to 1490 there are many letters from Reuchlin's friends, and a discourse composed at Stuttgard in 1488; by which it appears that he was in his native country in the years 1488 and 1489. Brfslg. pp. 19, 20. 22, 23. 113, &c. The error of Melanchthon arises from an account of the year 1487 in Reuchlin's work de Art. Cab. p. 1. But, on the other side, all authors, and especially Naucler, the contemporary and friend of Reuchlin, in his Chronicle, place the journey of the Count in 1482, and no others in 1487 or later; that Reuchlin was present during the journey, he himself says, de Art. Cab. in the preface. We must now admit that there is a mistake either in Naucler's or Reuchlin's date; but it is clear that Naucler is most to be trusted here, because he wrote his Chronicle much the earliest, that is, before the close of this century; Reuchlin, on the contrary, wrote his work de Art. Cab. about thirty years later. Hence it is more natural to suppose an error in him, or a blunder in writing or printing the first edition, which was transmitted through the following. There is also this additional reason for 1482: that Reuchlin met Politiano as the tutor of Lorenzo's sons, which in 1487 he no longer was; that Eberhard was honourably received by Sixtus IV., which could only have been before 1484, for in that year Sixtus died; and, finally, that Eberhard in 1487 was settled in his native country.

[7] Steinhofer, Württ. Chronicle, part iii. p. 410.

[8] Brfslg. pp. 119. 158.

the favour of Frederic and his son Maximilian [9]. He also gradually rose in the confidence and esteem of Eberhard, who now committed to him many matters connected with foreign governments; for instance, with the Bishop of Treves; and sent him on a similar business in 1487 to Reichenweiher. In the dispute of the prince with his relation Eberhard the younger, about the concerns of the empire, Reuchlin ever assisted him with his counsel, especially when Eberhard the younger allowed himself to be misled to many mischievous and arbitrary acts by an Augustine monk. Eberhard, when he came to Mentz with Reuchlin in 1488, by his advice, and with the permission of the pope, arrested this monk, who was involved in a law-suit here, and sent him in another dress to prison in Tübingen [1].

During his sojourn in Stuttgard, where he possessed a house of his own, Reuchlin found many hours which he could devote to his darling employment—the study of languages, and especially of the Greek, although his efficiency as a practical jurist became more and more generally known among his acquaintance. His income amounted in 1490 to only ninety florins; he first received one hundred in 1494. This was no little sum at that time; however, Reuchlin could not have subsisted on it if his practice had not brought him in a good deal. In order to direct more people to the study of the Greek language, he published a translation of the Philippics of Demosthenes, which Eberhard distributed among his friends at the Diet. However, languages were not his only occupation, but also philosophy, and the study of the New Testament. His wishes and endeavours had relation to his religious as well as mental improve-

[9] Brfslg. p. 23. d. Bro. Windsberg, et defens. contr. calumn. bei Herm. v. d. Hardt, p. 58.

[1] Sattler, Gesch. der Grafen von Würtb. 4, p. 234.

ment, that by this he might elevate his native land.

He was taken from the ordinary course of these employments by a journey to Rome upon business for his prince. His stay there during spring and summer, till August 1490 [2], gave him fresh opportunities of cultivation, and new friends, such as Giovanni Pico de Mirandola, in Florence, the papal private secretary Aurelius von Questemberg, a native of Germany from Misnia, (whose friendship was afterwards so useful to him in the dispute with the Colognese,) and that of the then famous learned man, Hermolaus Barbarus, 1494, who conferred upon Reuchlin the Greek name Καπνίον (Capnion), and instructed him in Latin poetry. Reuchlin's departure from Rome took place so suddenly, that Questemberg could not even take leave of him, as he soon afterwards wrote.

Reuchlin determined to send his younger brother, Dionysius, whom he had hitherto educated, to Florence, that he might enjoy the instructions of these celebrated friends. Dr. Streler accompanied him; but although Dionysius met with a kind reception in Florence, and heard with pleasure the lectures of Politianus, Marsilius Ficinus, and others, yet a longing for his native land brought him home again in two years. He came to Tübingen, was here elected magister, and improved himself in theology under

[2] According to Sattler's account, Reuchlin was still in Wirtemberg on the 27th of February, 1490. Sattler and Schnurrer do not mention this journey of Reuchlin's; but it appears from a letter of Questemberg's in August, in which the latter laments that Reuchlin went away so suddenly, without his being aware of it, yet thanks him for all his kind services and friendly assistance (probably Reuchlin instructed him), and commends himself to his friendship in future. Meiner's doubt whether Reuchlin travelled to Rome in 1489, or not before 1490, is removed by the foregoing narration.

Jacobus Lempus, to whom the elder Reuchlin was so much indebted. He also pursued Hebrew with much diligence, so that his brother afterwards dedicated to him his 'Rudimenta Hebraica.' Not long after he became priest, and in that capacity did much good[3]. The university of Tübingen became more firmly established, and soon obtained such celebrity through the influence of Reuchlin and Naucler, that young students resorted thither from all parts of Germany. Marsilius Ficinus writes to Reuchlin: 'The German youth who visit the academy of Florence come as well furnished as others leave it[4].' The reputation of Reuchlin, and the respect in which he was held, extended not only to his nearest friends and acquaintance, but also to all the scholars and the statesmen of Germany: these, as well as the former, wished to gain him for their states, and as a friend. Joh. von Dalberg, bishop of Worms, and chancellor of the university of Heidelberg, repeatedly invited him to go to Heidelberg; and, when he declined, begged him, at least, to hasten first to him if any thing unpleasant should occur in Wirtemberg. Reuchlin, to show his gratitude, translated for him several Greek works into Latin, and others into German; and some into verse, which had not then been done. Dalberg hence called him his teacher, and declared that nothing would rejoice him more than to have Reuchlin with him. Other illustrious persons also manifested their high esteem for this learned man (as is proved by the letters of Mirandola, Demetrius, Chalcondylas, and others). When he went with Eberhard, in 1492, to the imperial court at Ling, probably for the ratification of the treaty of Essling, the most considerable and learned

[3] Reuchlin's Rudim. Hebr. preface, p. 60.
[4] Brfslg. book i. letter 3.

men belonging to it did him many services. The Austrian chancellor, Bernhard Perger, much regretted that he could no longer in Ling see and converse with one whom he loved and venerated as a second father; yet he hoped, if possible, to take him by surprise there, and meanwhile offered him not only his house but the use of his whole library. Dr. Fuchsmag, likewise, whose schoolfellow Reuchlin had been, equally lamented that he could not speak to his former dear friend [5]. Reuchlin was also able by his integrity and modest virtue to win so much upon the emperor, that he not only ennobled him and his brother, but elected him count-palatine (comes palatinus), by which he obtained a seat and vote in the upper college. With this dignity was united, besides other privileges, the customary one of being able to confer the degree of Doctor on ten fit persons. These rights and dignities he received ratified by a diploma, dated 24th of October, from the emperor himself. Reuchlin, although he knew how to value this honour, did not abuse the worth of such a gift: his modest disposition did not aspire to external honours; but when conferred on him they became incentives to make himself more worthy of them. He therefore made no use of these privileges, neither did his brother, nor his descendants [6], but he assumed the office of imperial counsellor. Another circumstance is more important in the future history of this man, having some effect on his progress in the Hebrew

[5] Brfslg. p. 71. 2 Brfslg. p. 10. Manl. l. c. p. 533, relate that there were in Ling several considerable men from Venice, who accidentally seeing Capnion read the New Testament in the original, it struck one of them so much, that he said to the others: 'This man is with justice so highly esteemed for his literary knowledge in Germany, which we so much despise.'

[6] At the time of the Reformation, Dionysius, though a priest, married, and effected much in the diffusion of knowledge as a zealous promoter of the Reformation.

tongue. The court physician of Frederic III., Jekiel Loans, a learned and much respected Jew, assisted our Reuchlin in his researches in Hebrew so carefully, that he was now able to proceed without any other help[7]. The knowledge of this language was indirectly the foundation of his future fate, and of his combat with those who loved darkness; as his endeavours to find and to bring forward truth, and to oppose all falsehood and all which hindered truth, were the immediate foundation of succeeding important occurrences. His first aim was to understand the Old Testament in the original; and then there was added another, to be able to study the cabalistic writings, to which his attention had been directed by the Count Pico di Mirandola. Loans, whose affection the industrious and well-informed Reuchlin had gained, induced the emperor to give him a Hebrew bible, carefully written on parchment, worth three hundred gold crowns; it is still preserved in the library of the grand duke at Carlsruhe. Afterwards Reuchlin, as a proof of his proficiency, wrote to his teacher in Hebrew, thanked him, and owned himself indebted to him for all his progress[8].

Thus loaded with honours, dignities, and presents, Reuchlin returned home in 1493, as Frederic III. had died in September, during his stay at Ling. Hebrew writing was very rare at that time, and principally in the hands of the Jews. In 1490 John Beham, of Ulm, bought several Hebrew books from the Jews, by which he did great service to Capnion and Pellican; besides this, such books were continually transferred from one learned man to another. The pursuit of the Hebrew tongue was now his daily business; and the acquaintance with it which he

[7] Rudimenta Hebr. p. 3.
[8] Brfslg. p. 80.

already possessed, is shown by his work De Verbo Mirifico, a book which introduced into Germany the cabalistic philosophy. Of the cabalistic writings of Reuchlin I shall speak more fully hereafter, when I treat of his services to learning, and the influence he thereby exercised upon the Reformation. Here I make an observation upon the contradiction between Melanchthon's information, that Reuchlin received his first instruction in Hebrew from Wessel, and Reuchlin's own words in his Rudim. Hebr., p. 3, where he says: 'Is (Jekiel Loans) me, supra quam dici queat, fideliter literas Hebraicas primus edocuit.' It does, indeed, appear extraordinary, that Reuchlin should in one year have accomplished so much, and also studied all these cabalistic documents; but we may suppose that he had before acquired the first grammatical rudiments, and was now well grounded by Loans; so that the latter was in this his first teacher. The cabalistic philosophy was revived by Pico di Mirandola in Italy, and which in this period, when all novelties were greedily received, because men sought truth and satisfaction from them, did much mischief. Reuchlin sent this work to his friend and pupil, Sebastian Brant, who a little while before, in 1494, had obtained his licentiate at Basle, that it might be printed there. The latter, amongst other information on the subject, and after a request for more frequent correspondence, wrote: "Thou alone art he who dost make our Germany illustrious by thy spirit, and dost enlighten it by thy remarkable writings[9]; thou mightest also make it a famous land, but thou dost reserve thy virtues and thy powers for still greater works." The learned monk, Leontorius, wrote in 1495 to Reuchlin, saying, after having

[9] Reuchlin had then written several things. See the literary Appendix.

extolled him in comparison with other philosophers, that he, though almost overwhelmed by his ordinary business for the state, yet devoted himself so ardently to the study of philosophy, that it was difficult to find one of his contemporaries who could equal him: 'When I went to Johann Amerbach at Basle, he presented me with thy book De Verbo Mirifico: I read it, and re-read it, and admired the eloquence and inventive genius, the manner of deciphering mysteries, such as before thee no inhabitant of the West was capable of. I thought to myself, Reuchlin is born to us under a happy constellation, and will certainly crown with immortal glory the name of German, which has hitherto always passed for something rude and uncivilized: continue as thou hast begun, that the pride of the Italians may no longer deride our ignorance[1].' In the mean time Eberhard, the general patron of learned men, was raised to the dukedom at the Diet of Worms, July 21, 1495, by the new emperor Maximilian, on account of the important services he had rendered to the emperor and the empire; and after half a year he returned to Tübingen, and was received with public rejoicings. During this time Reuchlin had remained there[2], and probably lectured, since he was accustomed, wherever he was, always to teach: even in Stuttgard he instructed many men desirous of knowledge, as afterwards Œcolampadius, who came thither on his account. He returned to Stuttgard with the new duke, whom the people conducted into the town in a grand joyful procession. All his subjects loved him as a father, and even foreigners valued him so highly,

[1] Brfslg. pp. 46. 57.

[2] Almost all historians enumerate Reuchlin among the councillors who accompanied the Duke to Worms; but Reuchlin remained in Tübingen, whence he wrote many letters to his friends during this period. Brfslg. pp. 26—32.

that Sebastian Brant might justly write of him: 'He is a prince such as Germany has never yet produced, —religious, honourable, clever, a father to his people, a favourer of learning, a valiant warrior, and a skilful statesman.' He adds: 'Long may he live for the benefit of his country.' But this, which was also the wish of all his vassals, was not, according to the higher dispensations of God, to be fulfilled; for soon after, on the 24th of February, 1496, the new duke died. According to the treaty of Essling, Eberhard the elder was to be succeeded, though under some limitations, by Eberhard the younger, whom most of the council had great cause to fear[3].

Reuchlin was inconsolable for the loss of this prince, and asked the advice of his friend Bernhard Schofferlin of Frankfort, how he should conduct himself on the accession of the new ruler, who could not be well disposed towards him. Bernhard, however, required consolation himself, and therefore refers his friend to confidence in God, and begs him to pray the Father to give the prince a sound judgment, that the prosperity of the state may not be destroyed, but still more firmly established. Yet he advises the assembly of a general diet, through which they may request the new ruler to continue the council established by the will of the deceased duke, or, at least, to choose able and honourable men proposed by the states. He himself, however, doubted the prosperous issue of the affair, and with reason; for as soon as the new prince had arrived in Stuttgard he did not trouble himself about the old council, but selected from it his favourites, and released his former friend Holzinger, that wicked, dissolute, Augustine monk,

[3] Melanchthon's information about the successors of Eberhard the younger, and their circumstances, is incorrect. Sattler, Gesch. der Würtemb. Grafen.

who had been thrown into prison by Reuchlin's management; and, in order to make him a compensation, elected him, instead of Naucler, chancellor of the university of Tübingen. Reuchlin had now no one to fear more than the powerful and irritated monk, who worked on the prince, already inclined that way, to take the life of Reuchlin, or at least to send him to prison. If Reuchlin wished to escape this, he must immediately leave his native country, which was the advice given him by consoling friends, who well knew his anxious disposition, but too visible in misfortune. To this effect the imperial secretary Peter Bonomus wrote to him: 'This is no time to weep, Reuchlin; if thou art a true stoic, thou must even comfort others. Death is the fate of all men, therefore be firm in ill-fortune, trust in God, and believe also that the friends whom thou hast won by thy virtues will not leave thee[4].' Reuchlin soon experienced the truth of these words, for he found a welcome reception at the court of the elector-palatine. He was, indeed, already invited and expected there; for the prince valued and admired his learning, and was aware of his sympathy and friendship for the wise men of his country, having known him formerly as the companion of Rudolph Agricola's studies, and in 1485 the eulogist of his memory, and now as the congenial friend of Johann von Dalberg. The proofs of affection from this latter, together with the intercourse of many learned men whom he had formerly known either personally or by their writings, soon enlivened his sad mind. In the house of Dalberg, while his wife was left behind in Stuttgard, he met almost daily the chancellor Plenningen, named Plinius, and the future suffragan-bishop Wacker, called Vigilius by his friends, with whom he lived in intimacy at Heidelberg, and loved as a brother.

[4] Brfslg. p. 9.

Reuchlin was now to this university, and to this circle generally, what Rudolph Agricola had been,—the daily companion and friend of the elector, and an influential teacher in the community. Certainly he worked effectively, since in 1498 a Greek professorship was established in Heidelberg, and his brother Dionysius called to it from Tübingen, though the monks opposed it as a heresy. For the lawyers also there was now founded a peculiar college called Bursa, in furtherance of the study of civil law, for which Reuchlin wrote his manual of civil law. In short, Reuchlin's energy, together with that of Dalberg, the Mæcenas of art and science in Germany, was perpetually originating something new and excellent. He was in some measure librarian to the bishop as well as to the university, arranged and enriched the libraries, bought manuscripts, and several printed books, which issued from the presses of Froben, Amerbach, and Aldus, translated many things from Greek into Latin, and made for the elector-palatine an epitome of universal history after the four monarchies. (See the Appendix to Reuchlin's works.)

As soon as he had passed a few months in Heidelberg, and enlivened his mind by many enjoyments, such as pleasant water-excursions on the Neckar and the Rhine, the visits of many friends, and frequent walks, he mingled seriousness with innocent playful wit, as he had done in his former life, and wrote a Latin comedy under the title of 'Sergius; or, Capitis Caput;' which was to be acted by some students for the amusement of his friend Dalberg. It was a biting satire on the vicious Holzinger, whose whole character and dissolute conduct he therein held up to contempt. As soon, however, as it became known that a comedy, which was then a rarity, had been composed by Reuchlin, every body was anxious to know the subject of it; but Dalberg, being informed,

dissuaded Reuchlin from having it acted, because there was just then at the court-palatine a Franciscan much esteemed by Philip, though hated by all the courtiers for his contemptible character, who might easily think the subject of this comedy an allusion to himself. Reuchlin, therefore, as the news of a comedy by him had already spread all over the town, hastily composed another, in which he severely handled the defects in the system of law, and particularly the dishonesty of advocates,—his Scenica Progymnasmata [5], which was speedily represented in Dalberg's house. While Reuchlin lived very comfortably here among his new acquaintance and in perpetual literary occupation, he did not forget his old friends: he inquires of Naucler how he is circumstanced with the new prince; upon which the latter,

[5] Dalberg, after the play, entertained the young students who had performed it; and, as a proof of his approbation, presented them with gold rings and medals (see the Conclusion). Joh. von Dalberg, eldest son of the Chevalier Wolfgang von Dalberg, born at Worms in 1445, and early dedicated to ecclesiastical life, received a literary education. His life till his twenty-first year, when we find him at the university of Erfurth, is as little known to us as his real dwelling-place after he left Erfurth. His deeper spiritual education he received in Italy, especially in Ferrara, and here he contracted an intimate friendship with Rud. Agricola and Dietrich v. Plenningen. When he had returned to Germany in 1478, and remained a short time in Ingoldstadt, Philip, elector and palatine of the Rhine, chose him as one of his council (together with Plenningen, in 1482,) and soon after chancellor of the university. Before this Joh. Wessel and Wimpheling had done something for the advancement of science, but under Dalberg the university visibly revived. Dalberg, already provost of the cathedral, became in 1482 bishop of Worms, and thenceforth divided his time and his labours between Worms and Heidelberg. To the already existing libraries of Heidelberg was united that of Rud. Agricola, which he bequeathed to the university. Dalberg enlarged it at much expense, and his own library was afterwards added to one of them.—Er. 1503. Zapf's life of him.

in March, 1498, answers: 'I pass my time entirely in learning: thou appearest to become happy by misfortune; it is really no easy thing to sleep in peace near a serpent; however, I console myself by this—that fate cannot take away what she did not give me,'

Reuchlin was indeed happy in Heidelberg: his visit there was gladdened by general esteem and love, and by the confidence of the prince, to whom he was so useful, that he sent him to Rome in 1498, because he rightly judged that Reuchlin by his knowledge and his whole character was calculated to please, and to bring the cause he undertook to a prosperous issue. Pope Alexander VI. had excommunicated Philip because he would not submit without opposition to the verdict of a papal legate. The matter arose in the following manner:—the monks of the monastery of Weissenberg, or rather their abbot Henry, had accused the elector Philip at Rome of the detention of certain revenues and possessions from them; thereupon the pope passed sentence of excommunication on the prince, without hearing him. The elector was naturally very desirous of accommodating this affair as well and as quickly as possible, in order to get rid of the excommunication and its consequences. Reuchlin was acquainted with Rome by two visits there, had acquired many friends at the papal court, was thoroughly conversant with the Latin language, was an excellent eloquent pleader, and therefore very fit for this embassy [6]. The discourse which Reuchlin addressed to the pope shows, that though he calls the pope successor of St. Peter,

[6] Melanchthon gives another reason for this embassy,—namely, the ratification of the marriage of prince Rupert with the daughter of George, duke of Bavaria; but that this was not the occasion is proved by the speech of Reuchlin to Alexander VI., Brfslg. p. 102, printed by Majus.

he does not yield to popish usurpations, does not flatter him, but with freedom of speech points out the love and imitation of Christ, by which alone popes become worthy and true followers of Christ: among other things, he says, 'Thou art appointed a priest of souls, like unto Christ, that thou mayest heal wounded hearts, that thou mayest pour soothing oil, not vinegar, into the wounds, and mayest restore the members, not cut them off,—that thou mayest show thyself a father, not a conqueror.' Few men spoke so truly and freely in these days to the pope[7]. As to the embellishments of his discourse, he showed a remarkable fluency of speech, an animated spirit, a florid Latin style, such as is scarcely found in his other writings, and throughout there appears the learned jurist, well acquainted with his subject, so that he could not fail to have many admirers, both for his freedom and his courage in standing out so vigorously in behalf of his prince. He won general sympathy, and was requested on all sides to allow his discourse to be copied: Questemberg himself, though engaged in many affairs, wrote it out with his own hand. Although Reuchlin in his oration proved the injustice of the complaint of this abbot and his monks against the prince, pictured the true state of the case, represented the precipitation in excommunicating the prince, and remarked that, as a temporal matter, it ought to be brought before the emperor, yet they made no haste to decide the suit, but detained Reuchlin more than a year in Rome.

Reuchlin, indeed, took care not to leave a place like Rome, presenting so much to any one desirous of knowledge, without some advantage; he extended his acquaintance, and expended money and time, as far as they were at his own command, in his literary

[7] Among these few, Savonarola is most deservedly distinguished. See his 'Life and Times,' recently published.

progress. He found here a very learned Jew, Abdias (Obadiah Jacobson) Sphorno, who is also known as an author [8], by whom he was daily taught Hebrew, and to whom he paid a gold crown for every lesson [9].

There was then in Rome Johannes Argyropylus, the Byzantine, who had formerly taught in the families of Cosimo and Lorenzo di Medici; here he lectured with much applause, and in his college were to be found old men and youths, foreign legates and even cardinals. As Reuchlin took an interest in this college, when Argyropylus was reading Thucydides, the latter inquired from what country he came, and how much Greek he knew; put Thucydides into his hand to read a little, and translate if he could, for not much was to be expected from a German. Reuchlin not only translated it into Latin with great facility, but also interpreted it in Latin. This knowledge, which the lecturer did not expect in any learned man of the time, and, above all, not in a German, so astonished him, that he exclaimed, 'Our persecuted Greece has fled over the Alps to Germany.'

Reuchlin, meanwhile, concluded his business in Rome, favourably for the prince; and after staying there a year, returned to Heidelberg, enriched by knowledge, and also laden with many manuscripts and printed works which he bought in Rome, partly for the library of Dalberg (which was the foundation of the well-known great family library of Dalberg [1]), partly for the library of Heidelberg, and partly for his own.

[8] Wolf's Biblioth. Hebr. part i. p. 393; part iii. p. 856; part iv. p. 939.

[9] So says Melanchthon: Reuchlin only says, 'non sine insignis mercedis compendio.' Præf. Rud. Hebr. p. 3.

[1] He bought, among others, for eleven gold guilders, a codex membranaceus, in 4to, of the year 1105, containing Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, with the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan (now in Carlsruhe).

During this time, the discontent of the council and the subjects of Wirtemberg had risen to the utmost height, as they had before their eyes the confusion in the affairs of government, and its injurious effects. Eberhard, led by Holzinger and Hans von Stetten, listened not to better or more experienced advisers, as he usually neglected every thing good. At last, the councillors proposed a diet, as Schofferlin, who was himself councillor in Stuttgard, had done before, to deliberate upon the best remedy for all disorders and miseries. Eberhard gave his consent, and the consequence was, that on the 10th of March, 1498, he was deposed by the treaty of Horn, with the approbation of the emperor: and a council of government was appointed to rule till Ulric, then eleven years old, should attain his majority; it consisted principally of those who had been of the council during the life of Eberhard the elder. Holzinger revisited the prison he had left for two years, and Naucler and Lamparter prospered again; their Reuchlin alone was wanting. Philip dismissed him unwillingly, but with many marks of gratitude and esteem, and retained his brother Dionysius in Heidelberg.

Reuchlin came back in the summer of 1499 to his native country, ready to devote to it all his powers, and was received with joy in Stuttgard[2]. His wish was now, withdrawn from courtly life, to bestow his

[2] What Steinhofer, iii. p. 798, and Melanchthon in the Explic. Evang. Luc. p. 437, relate, that Reuchlin was sent on an embassy to the emperor at Inspruck, is contradicted by Sattler, in his History of the Dukes, part i. p. 53. It was probably in reference to the deposition of the prince, that Reuchlin spoke the sentence which Manlius, c. i. p. 609, preserves: 'when the bricks are doubled, Moses comes;' that is, as soon as the burden becomes too great, the government is changed, and punishment follows.

time wholly on science, and he began to execute this purpose, for which Sebastian Brant[3] and others praise him excessively, as well as for the intention of dedicating all his knowledge to his own country. In the mean time, the friends he had left in Heidelberg, particularly Vigilius, with whom he had lived in so great intimacy, were inconsolable, and begged him often to communicate all that concerned himself[4].

His occupation at present was principally in the Hebrew and Greek languages, and philosophy: in the two former, he instructed such friends as were athirst for knowledge, that they might add to their learning for the benefit of religion, and be capable of eliciting truth from Holy Writ without other assistance. There were at this time men who employed themselves on the Hebrew language, even in Wirtemberg, but almost all help for their further progress failed them. Instruction by the Jews continued to decrease there; for Eberhard the elder had banished them from his principality, and there were not yet either grammars or dictionaries. Such men were the Scholiast Summenhart, Paul Scriptoris, a minorite at Tübingen, and the well-known Conrad Pellican. The latter, after some years of self-teaching, made for himself a sort of small dictionary, and collection, though a very incomplete one, of rules and examples. In the execution of this, he met with many difficulties, and it was particularly annoying to him that he so seldom found the first person present, because he supposed that this was the root, as in Latin and Greek. Reuchlin, in the summer of 1500, made a journey to Tübingen, to pass a little while with his friends. He went to Summenhart, Pellican's first master in Hebrew. The conversation soon turned upon this language, and Summenhart praised the diligence and

[3] Brfslg. p. 47. [4] Ib. p. 51.

progress of Pellican, but observed upon the many difficulties which stood in his way in learning the verbs. Reuchlin sent for the young Pellican, taught him the difference of the Hebrew from Latin and Greek in conjugation, showed him that the third person preterite is always the root, and dismissed him with much kindness.

Pellican's industry increased with his progress; and as early as 1503, he published his first little attempt at a Hebrew grammar, which, however, consisted only of a few pages [5].

This was the first faint light of investigation into the Hebrew tongue in Germany, but by the labours of Reuchlin it soon grew apace into a sun. The leisure which he now enjoyed at Stuttgard, was employed in the most conscientious manner. Besides the New Testament, of which he had received a beautiful copy, with gold letters, from Jacob Sprenger; he studied the writings of Aristotle, of Politiano, of Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, of Argyropylus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Laurentius Valla, and read with satisfaction the book of Marsilius Ficinus de Christiana Religione. But his friends also availed themselves of his leisure, to learn something from him. When not present, they questioned him in letters, as did the celebrated poet Bebel, professor of eloquence, from Justingen, on whom Maximilian the First, in 1501, conferred the laurel wreath, and who was there in relation to Latin what Reuchlin was to Hebrew. Also the provost of the Augustine monastery at Ror Wolfgang, who put many questions about Hebrew, which he pursued with as much ardour as his teacher Reuchlin. He introduced the edition of his friend

[5] Conradus Pellicanus De Modo legendi et intelligendi Hebræa, Basil, 1503, 4to. Melchior Adami Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum.

Naucler's Chronicle in 1500, by a preface, and did no small service towards a second edition of it [6].

In the year 1501 the plague appeared in Stuttgard, and at the end of the summer of 1502 drove Reuchlin and his family thence to a Dominican convent at Denkendorf, not far from Stuttgard, whose provost and monks rejoiced extremely to have the learned man among them, and had nothing more at heart than to derive advantage from his knowledge. Reuchlin, during his residence in the convent, held discourses upon Sermons, which occasioned the provost to beg he would compose directions for the preaching of his priests. This gave rise to his work De Arte Prædicandi [7]. Although this treatise, which first appeared at Phorzheim in 1504 [8], could produce no great effect, and merely applied the rules of rhetoric generally to pulpit eloquence, yet it was calculated to draw the attention of preachers to many faults, partly in the composition, partly in the delivery of their Sermons; and to give them many practical hints. He says in the preface, 'I prepare this small work to assist in making the youths around thee evangelically-minded men who may strive to reform the people.' He calls the art of preaching a means of leading men, by making them acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, to virtue and interior communion with God: hence the duty of the orator is to work on conviction with dignity and propriety; his materials for this purpose are all which can reform mankind, which the preacher ought to know thoroughly, but the true art is to conceal all art.

[6] Nicolaus Basellius continued the Chronicle till 1514, and published it in 1516.

[7] Preface to this work, which he wrote on new year's day, 1503.

[8] Not in 1508, as Meiners erroneously supposes.

In 1500, the Swabian league established in 1488, which Charles I., in 1533, abrogated by his power, was renewed for twelve years at Essling, and the whole confederacy divided into three classes: the first consisted of the emperor, as archduke of Austria, the electors, and princes; the second, of prelates, counts, nobles; the third, of the imperial cities. For each of these were to be chosen [9] judges of alliance, who should adjust differences between the members of the league, or between the vassals. The place of the highest tribunal might be varied from year to year, for each class had the choice for a year. Tübingen was first fixed on, and seems to have had this honour twelve successive years. All the judges of alliance were under obligation to be here every quatember, and remain till the end of the session. At the beginning of 1502 Reuchlin was elected, for three years at first, under the title of general judge of alliance in Swabia, to his Imperial Majesty, as archduke of Austria, and to the electors and princes; he had a salary of two hundred guilders, and fulfilled this duty eleven years with great faithfulness [1]. But

[9] (Datt) Volumen Rerum German. Novum, seu de pace imperii publica. Ulm. 1698, folio, p. 454 and 461.

[1] Reuchlin himself does not mention exactly the time at which he was chosen judge of alliance; but Meiners has quite mistaken it, for he places it in the year 1506, in which he published his work De Rudim. Hebr. He overlooked that Reuchlin says, in the preface to this work: 'Tum quod jam annos complures super fortissimis Suevis confœderatos principes dignitatem triumviratus non ambitione, sed electione mera consecutus, eumque honorem usque in hunc diem servare me sentiant inconcussum atque sanctum.' He refers to the words 'de accen. et orthogr. ling. Hebr.' 'Post enim quam in aulis principum senatorii ordinis consulatum annos undeviginti, tum deinde triumviratum Sueviæ annos undecim continuos sedulo gessi, tandem sedit animo, ut *ταμεῖον* abdicato triumviratu et sæcularibus negotiis subito exactis in otio literario quiescerem, ac sacro-sanctæ divinitati consortia lege-

this charge claimed much time, which he would rather have devoted to the study of literature; he complains of this in the dedication of his Penitential Psalms, first published in 1512, to Jacobus Lempus (Doctor of Theology and Jurisprudence). 'Since I have given myself to the study of law, I have descended to the position of a servant, and am laden with such a multitude of lawsuits, partly for private individuals, partly for the state, that my frame, ever weakly, suffers much under it; for many cares and much business deprive the body of sleep and the mind of power. Yet the love of my friends, and the study of literature, is a noble recompense for these toils, wherefore I say with Dionysius, My soul is satisfied not only by the knowledge of truth, but also by the reception of what is divine.' Even if he had not found literary occupation a recreation, he would have been urged to it by the requests and repeated persuasion

rem,' &c. p. 56; and concludes thus, the work de Acc. appeared in February 1518, and was composed in 1517. He exercised this office eleven years: *nuper* means 'lately,' therefore the charge occurs in 1506. Those words in the Rudim. Hebr. mention, however, that he had already occupied this post several years when he wrote the work. Then *nuper* can only be understood of a longer time, or it must be supposed that Reuchlin had before completed the work De Acc. If with Datt, c. ii. pt. xxiii., we admit the year 1502, in which he assures us he has read in old acts Reuchlin was already judge of alliance, every thing concurs with it. He was judge of alliance eleven years, therefore till 1513. It might happen at the end of 1501, and then he fulfilled the office till 1512, in which year the seat of judicature was changed from Tübingen to Augsberg. This place was indeed too distant for the aged Reuchlin; therefore partly for this reason, and partly because his controversy with Cologne began to occupy him very much, he resigned the post of judge of alliance. In confirmation of this, is a letter from Reuchlin to Mutian, of 1513, in which he says he has disengaged himself from all his offices. Script. in Tenyclii Suppl. Hist. Gothan. Suppl. Primum, add. b. pp. 18, 19.

of his friends to lessen their ignorance still more by the publication of Hebrew and Greek works.

So one employment followed close upon another, and thus this period is rich in writings. In the year 1505 he published a little treatise under the title, 'Dr. Johann Reuchlin's tütsch missive, warumb die Juden so lang in ellend sind,' (German Missive, wherefore the Jews are so long in calamity,) which is important in connexion with his future controversy, because it shows how, under the influence of a soul more and more improved by studying the Bible, the more rigid disposition of Reuchlin, as to the treatment of the Jews, gradually changed to a milder; though it is undeniable, that in this work the persecution of the Jews is considered as a righteous judgement upon them. A nobleman, who probably had come much into contact with his Jewish vassals, and who had their amendment much at heart, wished for information about the cause of the misery of the Jews, from some man of learning and authority, who was acquainted with their laws and writings; he therefore addressed himself to Reuchlin. Upon which, Reuchlin gave his views in this treatise, thus: 'The misery of the Jews is the consequence of so great a sin, that its equal was never committed,—greater than the sin of idolatry, whose punishment was the Babylonish captivity, which however lasted but seventy years, whereas the punishment of this sin has already continued more than 1300 years. It must also be a transgression which they slight, and do not consider as such; this can be no other than the crime they committed towards Christ, as the prophets had foretold: if idolatry was visited by such a penalty, how much greater must be incurred by blasphemy, of which they were guilty towards Christ! The punishment was so hard and so lasting on account of the obstinacy of the Jews, who continually blasphemed afresh:

this punishment would certainly end, whenever they acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah.' This treatise betrays the erroneous opinion, that misfortune and wretched external circumstances must necessarily be the consequences of sin. This was the opinion of the Jews themselves, to which Reuchlin here adhered. But the reason of the oppression of the Jews was rather the harsh, unchristian temper of Christians, who thought to gain them over by severity and oppression, instead of kindness. We see here the confusion of ideas between interior and exterior, which refers the punishment consequent upon sin to outward life, instead of internal consciousness. Certainly the inference might be drawn, as indeed it was by his enemies of Cologne, that the inevitable chastisement ought to be administered by Christians, that the Jews might actually receive their punishment, and at the same time thereby be led to conviction of sin. Reuchlin was, however, quite averse from this cruel persecution of the Jews, and, on the contrary, urged their being led to Christianity by gentleness and instruction. Therefore he says, at the conclusion of this little treatise, 'Whoever wishes for information concerning the Messiah and our true faith, I will willingly receive and help him, so that he need not be anxious respecting temporal nourishment, but may serve God in peace and free from all care.'

The desire of Reuchlin to promote and assist the already awakened enquiry after truth, gave him patience for many years in a very laborious task. This was the composition of his great work, Linguæ Hebraicæ Rudimenta, which first appeared in Pforzheim, in 1506[2]. He describes this toilsome en-

[2] He says in the preface to the Penitential Psalms, 'Feci Rudimenta Ling. Hebr., quæ multo sudore et algore, prece,

terprise, with the benefits procured thereby, in the letter to Arnold von Tungarn (p. 115) thus: 'I have done homage to every science, and also to theology; for lately[3], to its praise, advantage, and promotion, I have composed a Hebrew grammar and dictionary, a work hitherto unheard of, which has cost me the greatest trouble, and a large portion of my fortune; induced to do it by the great worth of the sacred writings, as well as for the advantage of students in them.' The commentary on the seven penitential psalms, often mentioned already, which appeared in 1512, was to the same purpose as the former work,—i. e. the promotion of a better knowledge of the Scriptures, and thereby of truth; for which an acquaintance with the Hebrew was one of the means. He says in the preface, 'The whole sacred Scripture is Christ, both what is written in the Old as well as in the New Testament, all relates to Him and his work; for all else before the time of Christ did but point to that, and prepare for it; I did not know this at first in the original, but I endeavoured to do so that I might better and more thoroughly understand the prophecies and their fulfilment.'

Reuchlin was much weakened in body by this excessive toil, and it was recommended both to him and to his wife, who was also suffering, that they should withdraw from the bustle of the town and the pressure of business. With this intention he bought

premio, et pretio, per longa tempora corraseram, haud sine incredibili diligentia et ære non parvo publicitus imprimi,' &c. I shall speak more at large, hereafter, upon the worth and influence of this work.

[3] Reuchlin here uses the word *norissime*, although five years had elapsed, which shows that it need not appear so strange to understand the word *nuper*, p. 68, as meaning several years.

a small estate, in which he passed the summer, that he might live to himself[4].

He now generally spent his leisure hours in translating several Greek classics into Latin, partly to procure them freer circulation, (since it was then easy to learn as much Latin as was required to understand them,) and partly to bring him forward in the Greek language, which contained so many treasures. Of this description were, the work of Hippocrates de Præparatione Hominis, in 1512; the Vita Constantini Magni, 1513; the work of Athanasius de Variis Quæstionibus, in 1519. Besides this, he brought out not only the work of Athanasius on the Psalms (1515), but also in 1512 a Hebrew poem, by the celebrated poet Rabbi Joseph Hyssopæus.

His bodily weakness, which continually increased, now induced him to disengage himself still more from all laborious offices of state, and to employ his time and strength in the culture of younger, stronger friends and pupils. These frequently visited and stayed with him, but the discerning sage prized and loved, above all, his young relation Melanchthon. The latter, as a youth, had attended the famous school at Pforzheim, where he was kindly received by Reuchlin's sister Elizabeth, of whom Melanchthon speaks with great respect, calling her an excellent, honourable woman. His teachers here were truly evangelically-minded men, such as Johannes Hungarus, who proclaimed the pure doctrines of the Gospel without reserve, and thereby scattered many sparks in the heart of Melanchthon, which the profound Reuchlin cherished and increased. His master in languages was George Simmler, a pupil of

[4] Brfslg. pp. 61, 62.

Reuchlin's, whose learning, and talent for teaching, Melanchthon afterwards celebrated, and who highly valued the young man for them, as also for his industry and his knowledge. Reuchlin often visited his sister, examined the much-gifted youth, contracted a still nearer relationship[5] with him, and became more and more assured of his future distinction. Partly as a reward, and partly by way of incitement, he sent him a treatise on the Greek grammar, with which a dictionary was bound up. One fruit, among others, of his progress by constant industry was some poetry, which he gave to Reuchlin on returning his visit, and which so pleased the old man that he playfully sent him his doctor's hat. Melanchthon hastened now to surprise his beloved father, as he called him, by a new pleasure; he with several of his school-fellows learnt one of Reuchlin's plays, and represented it before him very cleverly. At another time Reuchlin translated his name Schwarzerd into the Greek Melanchthon, by which he was ever after called. In the year 1512, after he had previously studied in Heidelberg, Melanchthon, furnished with good philological knowledge, betook himself to Tübingen according to Reuchlin's advice. As early as his eighteenth year he took his doctor's degree, and now began his lectures with much applause, though, as was then usual, he still attended the lectures of other learned men himself, such as those of Dr. Lempus, whom Reuchlin also calls his teacher[6] in theology, probably because his knowledge of it had been increased by the writings of Lempus. Melanchthon

[5] I can no where find an account of the degree of this relationship.

[6] See Variæ Quæstiones of Athanasius, which he published with notes; which, however, contain only historical confirmations of the mere scholastic questions of Athanasius; we look in vain for something dogmatic, learnedly arranged.

had received a Bible from Johann Froben of Basle, which he constantly carried about with him, and, after the example of his father Reuchlin, used to read daily. How much Reuchlin was struck with the truth contained in it, how firmly he was convinced that from it the power of a new divine life was infused into the susceptible mind, appears, among other places, in the work De Arte Cabal. p. 27, wherein he beautifully says, 'Truly I know nothing else which can more closely unite our souls to God, than that which the Holy Ghost teaches us, which first leads us to admiration of the Deity, then to knowledge, and, finally, by knowledge to the most devoted love, the surest guide to hope.'

Melanchthon, mindful of the true end of a university life, in order to cultivate his mind extensively, attended not only the classes necessary for him, but also all those which were pleasing or useful, such as jurisprudence and medicine. And the well-informed Reuchlin rejoiced, as often as he visited him in Tübingen, to find this taste for general knowledge, for which nevertheless he did not neglect his principal study, and listened with satisfaction to the young man's solid and true opinions upon the art of studying and acquiring a liberal education[7]. Melanchthon often visited his hospitable father, sometimes alone, sometimes with other young students; and as Reuchlin was a great friend to young people, he was glad to have them around him[8].

Reuchlin had taken an active part in the establish-

[7] Camerarii Vita Melanchth. Leipzig, 1696, p. 19.

[8] Manlius relates, l. c. p. 765, that the students examined his library, which consisted of many rare books, and then they ran down into the garden to gay youthful sports. The wealthy man had usually but two dishes at dinner, and one in the evening. He drank Leuer (buttermilk) himself, but the Tübingers had wine.

ment of the university of Wittemberg, and the elector Frederic of Saxony, to whom several years before he had dedicated his work Constantinus Magnus, addressed to him, in 1518, a request to come to Wittemberg, (as the Faculties would in him have a teacher for the most dissimilar languages, for Greek and Hebrew at once,) or if he would not do that, at least to nominate qualified men. Reuchlin declined on the score of age and sickness, but proposed Melanchthon (who besides was not content in Tübingen) for Greek, and declared that though he and the university were unwilling to lose him, and though Ingoldstadt itself also endeavoured to gain him, that he would persuade him to enter on this fine field of action. When Melanchthon was uncertain what he should do, Reuchlin wrote to him; 'Leave thy native country, thy circle of friends, and thy father's house; be courageous, not a woman but a man, and know that no prophet is honoured in his own country.' According to the counsel of this his father, Melanchthon accepted the invitation, and although Leipzig as well as Ingoldstadt tried to get him, he went in the same year to Wittemberg, there, by the wise purpose of God, to perfect by his own thoughtful gentleness the vigour of Luther.

Reuchlin regretted that he could not particularly recommend any one for Hebrew. Œcolampadius of Weinsberg had already been summoned to Basle, in 1515. Paul Ricci, a baptized Jew, the only one in Upper Germany, he dared not entice away from Cardinal Gurk, whose friend and physician he was; there remained only the Franciscan Pellican at Rufach, whose superiors, however, must first be gained for an invitation to him [9].

[9] Capnionis Ep. ad Fredericum Electorem, in Seckendorf's Hist. Lutheranismi, Frankfort, 1692, fol. p. 44.

Now commences that period in the life of Reuchlin whence he derives his historical importance,—the time of his controversy with the lovers of darkness, the monks of Cologne; but before we direct our eyes to the history of a time of great consequence to religion and knowledge, this is the most appropriate place to consider more attentively the services of Reuchlin to science, and his consequent influence upon the Reformation. This cannot indeed be done without looking back on the state of all scientific education at this time; but that we may not stray too far from one peculiar subject, our attention must usually be directed only to Germany, and only pass this limit by way of comparison.

Before the diffusion of Christianity in Germany there was no trace to be found of literary cultivation. Ecclesiastics first began to give a written expression to the still rude language, and this they naturally did in the Latin alphabet, with which they were conversant. Here and there arose schools for the education of the clergy, but all that was communicated there was a little reading, writing, and a very scanty portion of Latin,—that is, just enough to enable pupils to read mass.

Charlemagne and his learned friend Alcuin, by their efforts for the diffusion of intellectual culture, and by establishing monastic schools, succeeded in infusing somewhat more knowledge into Germany; but literary cultivation still remained the affair of some few, and the ecclesiastics took no share in it. The bishops often complained that their clergy could not even read; which was so much the worse, as they constituted the only class of learned men. Hence, if the subject be the advancement of learning in Germany, it really treats only of individuals, and generally not of men educated in that country, while the people are most correctly estimated as in the

greatest possible ignorance and barbarism. Soon there arose among individuals a disposition to historical literature, and several chronicles [1] are the early results of their progress: the poetry of the Minnesingers followed as forerunner and impulse to a greater literary life, which first affected the study of jurisprudence, and records of particular nations were written down (Sachsen- und Schwaben-spiegel), while Roman law passed from Italy into Germany, and was practised there. The study of history, whose first appearance was in particular chronicles, now advanced to the form of universal history [2]. Philosophy in its mischievous union with theology occupied here and there isolated monks and bishops, but even on this subject they generally knew only a translation of Aristotle and a few much admired scholastic works. Around these scattered men, instructed either in monastic schools or in foreign universities, assembled a number of young people desirous of knowledge; yet only by the utmost diligence, and no less patience, could they obtain any degree of education. At last, after Paris and Bologna, as well as Salerno, had worked with the greatest reputation and success in foreign parts, Germany rejoiced in the first university in the midst of her land, Prague, founded in 1348 upon the model of the far-famed university of Paris [3]. Now, as

[1] Writers of Chronicles: Eginhard, Witichind, Dithmar, Lambert, Bruno.

[2] Sebastian Franke's Weltchronik, before that of Otto von Freisingen, Chronik und Geschichte Friedrich I., Heinrich Von Horford (1370), Gobelinus Persona (1420), Ottokars von Hornock Reimchronik, the most ancient historical work in the German language.

[3] These universities succeed one another quickly till the end of Reuchlin's time. Vienna, 1365; Heidelberg, 1386; Cologne, 1388; Erfurth, 1392; Leipsic, 1409; Rostock, 1419; Griefswald, 1456; Freiberg, 1457; Treves, 1472; Ingoldstadt, 1472; Tübingen, 1471 (1477); Mainz, 1477;

several colleges succeeded the first, instruction in science became easier to the Germans, and these new institutions were everywhere filled with teachers and learners. Individual great men made immeasurable efforts for their benefit; for instance, Huss and Jerome of Prague, preceded by Conrad Stickna (1309), Johann Miliez (1374), and Math. v. Janon (1394), who, as deeper theologians, had prepared men's minds, and excited an inclination for better instruction. But we must not form too high an idea of the universities of that time, nor expect too much from their influence. For besides that the freedom of the teachers was much limited by the powerful arm of the Church, and of her highest ministers, the students came there with too little preparation, and the preceptors were obliged to dwell on the elements of science. They had rarely the good fortune to initiate young men of deeper insight into the heart and essence of knowledge. Theology had a certain circle, beyond which it dared not stir; free inquiry could find access only by distinguishing between theological and philosophical truth, and must be employed only in philosophy. The faculties (professions), whose object is the exposition and proof of the positive, were fettered by the positive itself; so in jurisprudence no one went further than to explain and systematize variously what already existed. The study of jurisprudence first took a new turn when men began to consider the Roman law and the ancient German Lombard statutes as purely historical. Meanwhile, theology had long made philosophy her slave, and she was still enchained when the age in which Reuchlin was born and educated vigorously broke through the shackles. The faculty of medicine, especially in

Wittemberg, 1502 (the first university which received its deed of constitution not from the pope, but from the emperor Max.); Frankfort on the Oder, 1506; Marburg, 1527.

Salerno, was the most liberal, for it was only attacked when its doctrines involved anything injurious to the Church. Now, while the number of persons anxious to learn increased in the universities, there began also to be some education among the people. In the great towns there were schools preparatory to the university, called town-schools, in which might be learnt the elements of the most useful knowledge as well as the Latin language. It was a great matter if any one not a student knew anything of Latin, and even the students themselves were very backward in this. Besides these town-schools, there were also the monastic schools, usually conducted by monks. Libraries, on account of the costliness and scarcity of writing, were likewise only in monasteries or the courts of princes, and very seldom in the possession of wealthy individuals.

This was about the literary state of Germany at the time of Reuchlin's birth. Under all these difficulties did he educate himself; yet, notwithstanding his industry, he could not have attained the point he did reach if he had been obliged to improve himself in Germany alone, for all solid knowledge was still to be sought in France and Italy: the progress of learning was long in reaching his native country, and the general inclination for culture was the less lively in Germany, because people still clung to the ancients.

In Italy some liberally educated men, such as Dante Alighieri (1321), Bocaccio (1275), Petrarca (1374), Laurentius Valla, &c., had done all they could to give men's endeavours after cultivation a direction towards religion and truth: but their voices could not penetrate the crowd. With them the intellect expanding freely, by the acquisition of knowledge, led to the study of the Bible and of science. This was eminently the case in Savonarola. But in many Italians this literary study effected only a

partial cultivation of intellect and taste; hence the glowing feelings of religion found no satisfaction, and it easily happened that a refined mind, undirected to religion, led to superstition. During this century Italy was at the height of her civilization with respect to literature, under the protection of the great patrons of art and science, Cosimo and Lorenzo di Medici, the Visconti, Sforza, Este, the Queen of Naples, Marquesses of Mantua and Montferrat, the popes, cardinals, and many talented private men.

Learned labours were not less protected and promoted by great men in France and England, while the Polyglot Bible, and the edition of the New Testament by the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes, together with his zeal for knowledge, contributed much to the spread of the Reformation, even in Spain.

The invention of the art of printing lent, as it were, wings to written communications to carry them more easily and quickly into all lands at once. Works which could not be written either easily or quickly by the hands of the most industrious monks, and whose diffusion was either not effected at all or not till after a long while, were not only multiplied with facility by this invention, but also were less falsified and more uniform than in writing. Communications in the realm of science hence became more rapid, and might also be more frequent and general: those who desired knowledge found more materials by which to perfect themselves; co-operation completed all, the love of imparting could not but increase, and the impulse to learned pursuits became more evident. Added to this was a more public benefit; writings, by reason of their rarity and dearness, could only be procured for libraries, princes, and a few rich private persons, but by this new invention the fruits of literary industry were enabled to reach the populace. However, we must by no means

suppose that before the end of the fifteenth century these benefits of the new discovery were plainly apparent; they could indeed only gradually become so by the multiplication of presses; yet at the end of that century the art had so far advanced, that all the monks could hardly have completed as many copies as there had appeared impressions. So this new discovery must have been most important for the improvement of Reuchlin, since the advantages enumerated interested most nearly one who was so zealously active for the extension of literary culture, partly for his own sake, partly for that of his contemporaries. Yet this benefit could not have assisted his early education, as it did that of succeeding learned men, for his childhood was coeval with the infancy of this art.

Reuchlin's first education to be the teacher of his countrymen was less benefited by the press, than indirectly by the misfortunes of the Greeks through the conquest of Constantinople. The learned, whose studies and quiet had been interrupted there, hastened to Italy and France, and in their own persons, and in the libraries they carried with them, brought untold treasures into the West. The almost forgotten Greek language and literature now again came into the possession of the inhabitants of the West: and the inclination and taste for knowledge was awakened, cherished, and ennobled. What influence this had on Reuchlin, has been already shown.

The great advantages of this striking epoch in the history of literary cultivation concerns Germany most of all; if not at first, yet at the time of the Reformation. For Italy was now deposed from the summit of her literary grandeur by the more liberal principles in education, and the use of knowledge which emanated from Reuchlin and Erasmus. And it is thence evident, and worthy of observation, that in half a cen-

tury Germany advanced from infancy to maturity. It is not, however, saying too much, to maintain that Reuchlin gave the principal impulse to this movement, which would not have operated so powerfully and influentially without his activity; and his influence is apparent in almost all the regulations of that time. We admire Reuchlin for obtaining education amidst so many difficulties, by attending foreign universities, in which he could but by the utmost diligence earn his maintenance, by teaching and copying particular works for the use of lecturers. The readiness and excellence of his handwriting are shown by the words of Manlius, l. c. p. 543: 'Duke Frederic and Duke George write a good hand, as also Erasmus, Luther, Buddæus, but Capnion excels them all.' Reuchlin was pre-eminently self-taught, for he became learned without any good course of instruction by regular masters, without books for teaching languages, (such as lexicons and grammars, which now so much facilitate it to us,) notwithstanding the often-displayed ignorance of the teachers, and the dearness and scarcity of books, which continued till the end of the fifteenth century, so that the same book frequently circulated through the hands of the learned for years together, and they waited for each other. We must the more esteem him, and acknowledge his services, since he willingly sacrificed health, time, pleasures, and wealth, to raise the literature of Germany; and if his knowledge seems easily attainable by the learned of the present day, we must not forget the time and circumstances in which Reuchlin lived, that we may do justice to what he accomplished.

There is also to be considered the end to which he made all learning subservient; for it was not with him, as with many other literati, merely a question of philology, of historical materials, or rhetorical em-

bellishment, but solely of the advancement of the knowledge of God: this he rightly held to be the aim of all science—to this therefore he devoted himself almost entirely, that he might share the happiness with his countrymen, and bring knowledge into closer connexion with practice.

With respect to his services in the promotion of particular branches of learning, they are the greatest and most important in the department of languages. In these, he partly reformed, and partly brought to light such as were unknown in Germany, in a twofold manner—by verbal and written teaching. As a teacher, in the more restricted sense of the word, he laboured at the most dissimilar universities, and every where in so remarkable a manner, that wherever he sojourned there was joyfully observed an evident progress in the university, not only by a new method of instruction, but by a new and more liberal use of learning. What he effected in Basle, which drew upon him hatred, and envy of his knowledge and enlarged views, has been already mentioned, as also his friends and disciples in Basle, Orleans, Poitiers, and Tübingen. His pupils in these universities, who so unwillingly saw him depart, as their subsequent letters prove, endeavoured in every way, not only to keep up, but to extend the new impulse which Reuchlin had given to the principal schools during his stay; and for this purpose they often claimed the wisdom and counsel of the absent sage. As the new and better method found so good a reception among his pupils, that it overthrew the oppressive pedantry which was transferred alternately from learning to practice, so it was admitted more and more by the disciples of the old system, and its influence continually increased by friendly intercourse among the students, in opposition to the former magisterial mysteriousness. Even during the time in which Reuch-

lin did not appear as a public teacher in the universities, he still taught a small circle of young and old men, some of whom lived in his house for that purpose, and some, already settled in the place, sought his society. Among these scholars were two distinguished reformers, Melanchthon and Œcolampadius; the former of whom happily imbibed all the gentleness as well as the literary cultivation of Reuchlin. Even his conversation was always improving, as well as his whole conduct, so that the chancellor von Dalberg, and his friends in Heidelberg, wished to have him back, if only for half a year, that they might draw from the treasures of his learning [4]. The enemies of enlightenment hated and persecuted him for these not inconsiderable merits in a teacher, since by the discovery of their ignorance he not only deprived them of all respect, but also of their pupils; but it was still harder for them to endure his efforts as an author, and his extraordinary influence through their defeat. Every thing he wrote was admired as something wonderful,—Latin as well as Greek, German or Hebrew, original or translated works, and this not in Germany alone, but in Italy, France, and England. His letters were even kissed and preserved as relics [5]. Erasmus himself wrote him an apotheosis after his death, in which he placed him among the saints.

We have already mentioned that his services in philology were the most important, and these appear especially in the Greek and Hebrew languages. In Latin he had gained a peculiar facility of speech and writing, partly by his own industry and happy talent, and by the instructions of one Hermolaus Barbarus he was also particularly improved in elegance: this however is not displayed throughout all his works, least in his translations, and most in his orations and

[4] Brfslg. p. 53. [5] Brfslg. p. 146.

letters. His influence on the cultivation of this language was indeed greatest in the fifteenth century, when there was but little done for good Latin any where, and least of all in his own country. Afterwards many of his pupils, especially Melanchthon, excelled their master: Agricola also was his equal, and Erasmus went far beyond him. He wrote a Latin dictionary, entitled Breviloquus, for the benefit of his contemporaries (mentioned above), which was very useful in its day. With regard to the Greek language, he alone has the merit of having diffused it in Germany,—a peculiarly important service to the Reformation, because by this means was first imparted to the Germans a knowledge of the New Testament in the original: the German reformers would hardly have been able to attain such firm and clear opinions by using the much falsified Vulgate. Their expository works would hardly have secured them against the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and the theological faculties must still have been much limited in their intellectual cultivation, if the Greek language had not been made generally accessible long before the Reformation. Apart from the benefits which the historical studies of all the faculties obtained thereby, every effort for the introduction of this language was a sort of daring enterprise against the spirit of monkery, which, in its ignorant dread of heresy, and love of persecution, judged thus: 'The Greek language must be carefully guarded against, for it occasions heresies[6].'

But the more a dread of heterodoxy was then diffused, the more hatred and persecution attended the study of Greek, and the more widely spread was the

[6] Among the Netherland monks it was a proverb: 'If he is a good grammarian, he is a heretic' (si est bonus grammaticus, est haereticus).

ignorance of this language, so much the more posterity is indebted to Reuchlin. In the transcriptions of monks, from whom education was sought at this time, there is frequently found this phrase, on the occurrence of Greek words, ' Græca sunt, non leguntur '— They are Greek not to be read.

We have before seen what opinion the Greek Argyropulus pronounced upon Reuchlin's knowledge of this language; and we may certainly affirm, with reason, that he had afterwards further improved himself. In reading his Greek letters we perceive in them a free, unconstrained expression, and a polish, which could be possessed only by one thoroughly conversant with the Hellenic. Besides, there were indeed but few men, except the Greeks themselves, who had acquired such facility in this language. The love of this new tongue increased however so greatly, notwithstanding the opposition of the monks, not only with all the learned of that time, but even with some monks, that Greek was soon learnt and taught in all the universities, and even in many town-schools: the number of Reuchlin's pupils, and of their pupils, was augmented, not only where he had been, but likewise in neighbouring countries, even in England and France.

Afterwards the learned Erasmus, who did so great service in its literature, to whom the Reformation is so much indebted, and who also gained so many disciples in England and the Netherlands, shared with Reuchlin the pre-eminence of the most perfect knowledge of this language.

Desiderius, afterwards called Erasmus, was born at Rotterdam in 1467. His parents, prevented from marrying by the monastic vows of the father, impressed their growing child with a great detestation of the monasticism which had embittered the happiness of their lives; and this detestation was further

increased after the death of the parents by the compulsion of the guardians, who tried every possible way of leading Erasmus to embrace this vocation. At last his friends, notwithstanding the contrast between the tenderness with which he was brought up, and the usual hardships of a monkish life, induced him to enter the monastery of Emmaus or Stein, by representing the leisure and opportunity it would afford for literary employment. But even this leisure, expended in combating the ignorance and viciousness of monkery, in his work De Contemptu Mundi, could not long detain him here; and leaving the monastery in 1491, he hastened to the bishop of Cambray, with whom he remained five years, and then went to Paris, to employ himself in studying theology. Here he gained his living by teaching, and afterwards accompanied to his home an Englishman of rank, whom he had instructed, became acquainted with Colet, professor at Oxford, Sir Thomas More, and the future king Henry VIII.; and he then left England. After many journeys he met in St. Omer the profound and witty Vitriarius, who appears to have had much influence on his whole turn of mind. The study of theology, which particularly occupied him at Leyden in 1500, delighted him more and more: for its advancement he published in 1504 the Annotations of Laurentius Valla; and his desire to see celebrated teachers in this branch of knowledge, in philosophy, and especially in literature, led him into Italy (1506), which he did not leave again until 1509, when Henry VIII. invited him to England. On his journey thither he wrote a work, well known, and often reprinted, 'The Praise of Folly'—in which with clever irony and remarkable frankness he lashes the follies and moral iniquities of his times. His ambition, however, was not satisfied in England; for he wished to enjoy dignity and maintenance from

the state without holding any official post; he therefore returned to the Netherlands, where in Brussels (1514 or 1515) he obtained the title of counsellor to the king, together with a pension of four hundred guilders, without being bound to any prescribed duties.

For a short time he was at Basle in 1516, then again at Brussels, thence he wandered about, and in 1521 settled at Basle. To the violent dispute with Hutten succeeded that with Luther and his Reformation, against which Adrian VII. had in vain requested Erasmus to write. However, when the Reformation made such triumphant progress in Basle, he left the town in 1529, and went to Freiburg in Bresgau. Yet he ended his days in Basle (1536), having gone there in 1535 to see his friends once more. As to what concerns him, his influence, his exertions for the revival of learning, and thereby for the Reformation, various opinions have been entertained at all times. Some did him really too little justice, others were not impartial enough to acknowledge and portray his weaknesses. It is certain that he might have done more for the Reformation than he did,—that his actions were cramped by fear of man, timidity, feebleness, and ambition. Luther writes of him:—'I fear Erasmus does not sufficiently proclaim Christ, and the grace of God, of which he possesses but little knowledge. He prefers what is human to what is divine; but in days like these a learned Grecian or Hebraist is not necessarily a wise Christian.' At another time Luther showed his displeasure at the satire and mockery of Erasmus, for the same reasons which induced him to find fault with Reuchlin, because they advance not the promulgation of truth, but only amuse without improving. Erasmus' own views, however, which were beyond his times, often excuse his conduct as to a reformation which appeared to

him dangerous and precipitate. It is, notwithstanding, evident, that he absolutely did immeasurably assist the Reformation by his literary industry, and the great extent of his knowledge. He contributed to the restoration of learning by important writings, such as his Adagia, Enchiridion Militis Christiani, Ecclesiastes sive de Doctrina Concionandi, &c. by his numerous translations of Greek and Latin classics; also to the Reformation most memorably by his editions of the Latin and Greek Fathers (Irenæus, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Jerome—whom he preferred to all the rest); but principally by editing the New Testament in the original, with a Latin translation, and paraphrase composed by himself.

We see these two conspicuous above all other learned men in the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the representatives in Europe of knowledge, and the means of acquiring it. Their merits in this are equal; for Reuchlin constructed first from the rude material, and Erasmus endeavoured to increase and polish what had been acquired.

An excellent, amusing character of the two men was contained in a pantomime exhibited before the emperor Charles V. In 1530, when the emperor resided in the province, one noon a little band of foreigners presented themselves, who proposed, after the emperor and his brother Ferdinand had dined, to perform a short play; to which the emperor did not object. First appeared on the scene a Mask in the usual dress of a doctor, with the name Johann Capnion written upon his back, and carried a bundle of sticks partly crooked, partly straight, which he threw into the middle of the hall, and went out. Erasmus followed (all were in the same manner distinguished by names), as an ecclesiastic who strove to arrange the sticks, and to straighten the crooked;

but when he found his labour in vain, he shook his head indignantly, and forsook the task and the chamber. Upon which appeared Martin Luther, in the habit of a monk, who brought a firebrand to burn the crooked sticks, and, as soon as he had kindled them, withdrew. Now one in imperial robes entered the hall, and seeing the flames devouring the crooked sticks, attempted to put them out by a drawn sword. At last came also Pope Leo X., who wrung his hands for terror, and looked around for some means of extinguishing the conflagration. At a distance he espies two buckets, one full of oil, the other of water; he seizes the bucket of oil and pours it on the fire, whereupon the flames spread still further. The emperor desired that enquiry should be made after these people, but they had vanished [7].

In order to facilitate the acquisition of the Greek language, Reuchlin wrote a Greek grammar, *μικροπαιδεία*, which has not been printed, in which he followed the same method as the Greek teachers of that time, which was the only one in general use throughout the whole literary world in this period, and continued to be so during the Reformation until the seventeenth century. It was natural that this language should be taught in Germany after the method of Reuchlin; and it was also followed by Erasmus, Melanchthon, Œcolampadius, and Zwinglius. Hence Reuchlin was copied in the pronunciation of Greek, as he had learnt it from the Greek fugitives. Erasmus was unintentionally the originator of a change in the pronunciation of Greek, by a playful dialogue which he represented as taking place on the subject between a lion and a bear. Meanwhile, although he had in many parts of this objected to the so-called Reuchlinish pronunciation, he himself adopted it afterwards,

[7] See Majus, l. c. 547.

as well as before, and recommended it to others [8]. This sportive publication, by so learned a man, was revived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by its insertion into grammars gave existence and currency to that hypothesis [9]. So this new pronunciation was adopted among us under the name of Erasmus; its absolute correctness, is, however, very doubtful, therefore impartial critics may probably find in it much to be altered. In fact, the learned of modern days have again employed themselves in examining the existing pronunciation, and much may be expected from this new strife of diverse opinions. The pronunciation of Reuchlin has so many obvious reasons in its favour, that we are, indeed, not justified in rejecting it absolutely [1].

The greatest credit which Reuchlin obtained, and which none shared with him, was from the study of the Hebrew language, first by teaching it, and afterwards by his Hebrew grammar and dictionary. By means of this language he explored a completely new field in literature, particularly in theology; for in it also this study had been unknown for almost a century; it was to be found only among the Jews, and here and there very rarely with individual Christian teachers. If the Greek language was then decried as tending to heresy, it was still worse with Hebrew:—according to what was said by the lovers of darkness, whoever learnt it was sure to become a Jew. When

[8] He says: 'Conducendus aliquis natione Græcus, licet alioquin parum eruditus, propter nativum illum ac patrium sonum, ut castigate Græca sonari discantur.'

[9] The great champions of the Erasmian pronunciation were Bhek and Mirtisbus.

[1] See Seyffarth de Sonis Literarum Græc. 1824. Liskow, von der Aussprache des Griechischen, 1818 and 1825. Neidlinger, Ideen über unsere Erasmische Aussprache, 1826, and above all, Bloch, Revision der Lehre von der Aussprache des Altgriechischen.

Reuchlin was in Heidelberg he did not venture to teach Hebrew publicly, because of the rage of the monks, but only in private [2]. Hence it was considered as something impracticable to learn this language amidst such a multitude of difficulties as every where opposed it, and still more to attain any facility in it. For, in the first place, all help towards this knowledge came almost entirely from the Jews, and there was this hindrance, that they, either out of jealousy or ignorance, refused to instruct, and appealed to the prohibition of a Rabbi in the Talmud; and then, if a learned man had actually acquired the first necessary grammatical knowledge, he was either at a loss for Hebrew books, such as lexicons and grammars for further improvement; or, if he was provided with them, no inconsiderable philological acquirement was necessary to understand them, since these lexicons and grammars were made in rabbinical dialects, with which it was previously necessary to be familiar, and of which no Latin translation then existed. Reuchlin, however, overcame all these obstacles from love of truth, which excited him to read the Old Testament in the original, that he might be able to draw from the pure unadulterated source the revelation therein contained—and its essential connection with Christianity. If he added the purpose to read the cabalistic writings of the Jews, even this arose from his disposition to desire and seek truth, to which he annexed error because he did not clearly see its tendency.

What he had now obtained by the utmost industry, and with the sacrifice of his health, he endeavoured to spread abroad; he instructed every one who took pleasure in this language; even in his latter years he still taught in Ingoldstadt and Tübingen with much

[2] Manlii Loc. Comm. coll. 8, 572.

applause and success, but he still more promoted the study of Hebrew by the publication of the before-mentioned work (de Rud. Hebr.). Assisted by this work, people in all countries, but especially in Germany and Italy, cultivated the language. The Germans, who now, by means of Reuchlin, enjoyed two most valuable languages, soon, of their own accord, followed the track he had pointed out. This was the reason that they made such great progress in so short a time; and therefore was the revival of these languages so important and influential in relation to the Reformation.

Reuchlin dedicated this work to his brother Dionysius, that he might thereby give a fresh impulse to his zeal for the study of Hebrew: he shows in the preface how much it would benefit theology if the Holy Scriptures were used in the original instead of the Vulgate, whose many errors were still further increased by time. One step had been already made in Italy, which demanded a second; for thence, at the end of the preceding century (1488), printed Bibles were gradually circulated in Germany, and a Hebrew grammar as well as dictionary had become necessary to those who desired knowledge. It was indeed a hazardous enterprise, especially as he was the first to undertake the task in Germany[3]; yet his desire for the promulgation of truth, and also, partly, the exhortations of his friends, had given him courage. He had opened a path by this work; every man now by the help of this book might make himself master of Hebrew without a teacher; but, above all, this language was necessary to preachers, and therefore he recom-

[3] According to Wolf, Laurentius Holocke already in 1410 had compiled a Hebrew lexicon, and was the first Christian to whom the credit of doing this is due; but this work never appeared in print, and was not even known to Reuchlin.

mended it to them, and especially to Dionysius, who might effect so much for it in his sphere of action. By this work, which cost him many sleepless nights, he purposed to contribute something to promote the religion of Jesus Christ, to which, next to God, he is indebted for every thing, and he considers it honourable to have smoothed the path of inquiry to the most elevated and remarkable things. So, trusting in God, he committed this book to the world, whether it accused him of heresy, or acknowledged his industry. Both these happened during his life; the lovers of darkness were averse to him, but those of his contemporaries who were friends of knowledge and truth appreciated his services [4]. Luther calls him his father, to whom he owes much; for this work was very useful to Luther in his translation of the Bible. Melanchthon also commends this work to his contemporaries and posterity, whom he led by this means to the fountain of the doctrines of the prophets. Francesco Pico di Mirandola, who had done much for Italy with respect to the Hebrew language, acknowledges that he learnt much from his friend's book. Even a learned warrior, Jerome of Eudorf, writing from Bavaria to Reuchlin, whom he greatly admired, expressed most courteously his pleasure and gratitude about the new important work, which he promised to use diligently, and asked for a teacher who might improve him orally: 'Among the gifts,' says he, 'which God has bestowed on the Church, is that of languages, highly necessary to acquaintance with original Scripture; therefore God did not permit that Hebrew and Greek should be wholly lost. We do, indeed, believe, that by the providence of God these

[4] See Schellhorn Amœnit. Hist. Eccl. et Lit. Frankft. 1738, p. 693, which contains several letters of the Abbot Leonard of Ottobeuren to Reuchlin, and from him to the abbot.

languages have been revived; and we thank him that many are improved by the labours of such philologists.'

Reuchlin was not, indeed, the first grammarian; for the Jew Kimchi Michlol had already opened a path for him; but while the Protestants worked diligently upon the principles laid down by him, the Catholics troubled themselves very little about the matter. His lexicon is not indeed as valuable as that of Buxtorf and other modern teachers, and leaves much to be wished as to arrangement and completeness; but it must be remembered, that, if Reuchlin had merely translated into Latin the previous works of the Jews in grammars and lexicons, he would have done great service, and how much more when these works were used merely to assist his own inquiries! This publication was important on another account, that Reuchlin therein corrected the errors of the Vulgate, and other translations of the Old Testament, which were notwithstanding recognized as exact and sufficient by the Romish Church; and, more important, because it confirmed the doctrine which was then reviving, that the decisions of the Romish Church were not infallible, nor its sentence by any means binding unless agreeing with truth; and also because it accustomed the adversaries of truth to that free spirit of inquiry which it disseminated.

These principles were indeed truly and powerfully expressed, though Reuchlin himself was not aware of all their consequences. He was still, as we shall hereafter see, too much entangled in the ruling idea, that the subjective views of an individual must give way to the authority of the Church, guided by the Holy Spirit as to an objective. If even individuals perceived that the *Romish* Church and its authority must not be substituted for this more general authority, both opinions were founded on a similar error;

namely, that the comprehensive idea of all truth might be decided by the unanimity of Christendom. They were not aware, that even if this axiom were conceded, it would be impossible to unite all these separate subjective views into an objective without mingling with them something of human reason. Upon a more clear perception of this was founded the evangelical principle of freedom of conscience, which in Luther appeared gradually advancing, and which Calvin most distinctly expressed. Reuchlin and his contemporaries belonged to the class in which the fluctuations of the point of transition were perceptible. One sees the grand idea of a general freedom of conscience every where prevalent with him, but his timid, imprisoned spirit could not yet clear itself of all the prejudices imbibed from his times: this accounts for the inconclusiveness of so many of his declarations; that is, those relating to the authority of the Church, even when not to the Romish Church.

He very well knew that the lovers of darkness would especially exclaim against this, and accuse him of heresy: but fear of them could not induce him to fetter truth. Upon this subject he says, in the preface to the third book of this work, 'The cavillers will indeed call out upon the crime, because an audacious man in so shameful and insolent a manner endeavours to overturn the tradition of the Fathers, who were nevertheless led by the Holy Ghost. The writings of Jerome are acknowledged as irreproachable by all Christians, according to the testimony of Pope Gelasius; as well as of Nicolas de Lyra, that excellent expounder of holy Scripture; and now up starts a vapouring fellow, and maintains that he has in most instances translated falsely. To such clamours I will make this one reply; I am at liberty to do what the Fathers did. Jerome showed

how the seventy interpreters often failed through ignorance, and corrected them, although at that time they were almost as much held to be infallible as they had been by king Ptolemy. Nicolas de Lyra did not hesitate to point out the errors of Jerome; even Jerome himself acknowledges that he has often been mistaken in his translation.' After proving this by several examples, Reuchlin adds, 'Though I honour Jerome as a holy angel, and Nicolas de Lyra as a great teacher, I honour truth more, indeed I reverence her as I do God himself; yet I readily allow that I have not wholly apprehended truth, but left much yet to be desired.' Reuchlin was acquainted also with Arabic and Chaldee, as we may perceive, partly by the Lexicon, and partly by the preface to the translation of the Variæ Quæstiones of Athanasius.

In his native tongue Reuchlin ranked below Ulric von Hutten, and still more below Luther, as well in force and precision of expression as in fluency of style and dignity of composition. The reason of this was, that Latin was considered the only language of learning, and people laid more stress upon perfect cultivation in this foreign tongue, than on aptness in that of their own country.

During his sojourn in France he acquired French [5], whether he knew Italian also is not certain.

Reuchlin, whose mind comprehended so many fine qualities, was also a poet: unhappily, there is little which is complete of his efforts in this art extant; enough, however, to enable us to form some judgment of his talent for it. We find among his works a literal translation of Josephus Hyssopæus, a Jewish

[5] Compare the preface to Variæ Quæst. with the letter of Conrad Leontorius, to Jacob Wimpheling, prefixed to the work De Verbo Mirif.

poet, who had composed and sung this poem on the marriage of his son. But more skill is shown in his original compositions, some poems preserved in his collection of letters, and in his comedies, among which 'Sergius' breathes the most poetic spirit. We find in this satire pointed wit, graceful diction, and accuracy of versification [6]. His 'Scenica Progymnasmata' do not nearly equal this comedy, and are in fact but a feeble imitation of the French 'Pathelin [7],' which is owing to the short time in which, as we have already related, he was compelled to write this second play. Yet it must be conceded, that Reuchlin is in this art beneath Bebel, Cobanus Hessus and Hutten, though even they particularly valued his performances.

Reuchlin did much for the promotion of knowledge by editing separate remarkable pieces of the old classics for the booksellers, though he could not yet accomplish publishing such entire editions as afterwards appeared: he also advanced theology, with which he had much occupied himself, no little by single works on the subject, as well as by his exposition of the Old Testament, and his treatises on Church history.

The influence of Reuchlin upon philosophy was important in two ways; first, by his opposition to scholasticism, and next by his own free speculations. At that time many circumstances operated against scholasticism, arising partly from its own tendency to decay, partly from an injurious operation which every where showed its interior perversion; and they continually accelerated its decline. Even the partial dogmatizing, which sheltered itself under an alien

[6] Jacobus Dracontius, in his panegyric on the German youth, commends Reuchlin as the originator of comedy among the Germans.

[7] Histoire Universale des Théâtres, xi. p. 304.

system of artificial and capricious logic, which by its given formula must change with the times, this already bore within itself the seeds of destruction. It could not be otherwise than that principles not established on ultimate grounds by an ever-extending reference of the reasoning power, but which were maintained traditionally as if the laws of reason were to be subjected to them, should by their want of truth contain the elements of dissolution and annihilation. It was not that the understanding, when unable by itself to discover and demonstrate the highest truth, acknowledged a principle above but not contradictory to it, and setting out from this as from something evident to mankind moved freely because it acted in reference to eternal verity; but it took as principle and aim of its reasonings that which was often contrary to the understanding, and thereby laid the foundations of decay and nullity. Hence also, the origin of the disputes and contradictions which were exhibited in the various schools of scholasticism; and it was natural that the contending parties should often unconsciously over-step the nominalist principle which they set before them. Therefore this philosophy could maintain itself no longer, when the intellect, weary of the yoke of such a tyrant, and excited by love of knowledge, endeavoured to find fresh limits. Men then began to inquire into the opinions of other philosophers beyond the scholastic age, and the study of the history of philosophy was the downfall of that dead skeleton of sophistries. To this the revival of literature, which had been suppressed by scholasticism, was peculiarly favourable; and here Reuchlin appears as a considerable agent in Germany for its destruction, indirectly by extending and promoting a taste for classical studies, directly as the avowed opponent of this philosophy, and establisher of another.

Already in Italy Marsilius Ficinus by his new Platonic philosophy had made many assaults upon scholasticism: in France, its especial stronghold, Jacobus Faber (Stapulensis) promoted its decay by introducing the Aristotelian philosophy. Both these men, therefore, opened a pathway towards free inquiry, though they did but bring forward other philosophers, as if to comment on them without enriching or extending the field of science by any novelty. It is true, that many external important occurrences, (crusades, the invention of printing, the conquest of Constantinople,) which produced changes more or less in ecclesiastical or political relations, contributed to overthrow the scholastic philosophy, and were also very advantageous in the promotion of learning. But its intrinsic nullity and defectiveness effected most; for it aroused in the unsatisfied soul of man the greater eagerness for truth, the more ardent longing for the unfolding of wisdom, in proportion as men saw that speculation could neither appease their desires, nor, above all, attain and secure truth. These awakened wishes took the most diverse roads to obtain satisfaction. Convinced that certain knowledge and complete wisdom resided in God only, and could only be derived immediately from Him, some sought his revelation in the Bible; one party entirely adhered to this, and found therein pure gratification. Another party framed for themselves a system combined from various philosophies, of which the principles of Christianity formed the centre,—a mixture of Christianity and extraneous matters. The thirst after wisdom became here the source of error, since men sought at a remote distance that which was near, and could not be convinced that truth, being divine, consisted in the utmost simplicity, but believed that by elevated and distant ways alone that which was divine could be reached; hence the distinction which now

appeared between higher and lower, esoteric and exoteric wisdom. Such a mistaking and confounding Christian notions with those of earlier philosophic schools was the new cabala, first fully established in Italy by Count Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, whose footsteps were followed by his nephew Francesco Pico, murdered in 1533.

If Giovanni Pico may be called the author of the Platonic cabalistic philosophy, Reuchlin is the author of the Pythagorean-Platonic cabalism. His fanatical errors originated both in himself and in the above described tendency of his times; which, by desiring and seeking truth in the by-path of a medley of contemplative mysticism, had fallen into the superstition connected with it, and into a pseudo-theosophy. The source of these fanaticisms, as of all others, lay in the predominance of human subjectiveness, which, instead of appropriating the objective, and submitting to it, will rule it. Reuchlin, in his eagerness for truth, pursued with much zeal the study of the Bible; but instead of suffering himself to be led by its truth, and acknowledging its simplicity as something necessarily connected with it, he mistook it, and missed the truth. His speculative mind inured him to distinguish between an esoteric and an exoteric religion; he was led to it by the admission of a double meaning in writing, and, at the same time, of a more full inspiration of words, because his artificially constructed system might be ruined by the omission of a single word. So then, as no certain criterion of truth was present to him, all that was heterogeneous and fantastic might easily insinuate itself—all that is subjective become objective. His scheme was founded on his mystical, theosophistic turn of mind, cherished by many such writings as those of Dionysius Areopagita, the Platonic Father (whom he defended against Laurentius

24026

Valla as the true author of the writings known by his name). Added to this was his acquaintance with the before-mentioned Giovanni Pico de Mirandola (1490), and with his works, which had great influence in the formation of his opinions. He first, with much assiduity, brought to light again the Pythagorean philosophy, and it led him, as he could not explain many of its obscurities, to the oriental, and especially cabalistic system; because, uncritically enough, he relied on the old saying: 'Pythagoras borrowed the nucleus of his philosophy from the East.' The cabalistic philosophy therefore, with a man so entangled, passed for the most ancient, and he derived all other systems directly or remotely from it.

He explained the Cabala as a symbolical reception of Divine revelation, and distinguished between Cabalici, to whom belonged celestial inspiration, their disciples, Cabalæi, and their imitators, Cabalistæ. At the end of the third book de Arte Cabalistica he says on this subject: 'The art of exchanging and arranging letters, and of interpreting, for the edification of the soul, the Holy Scriptures, which we have received from God as a divine thing not to be understood by the multitude, was not generally communicated by Moses, but only to the elect, such as Joshua, and so by tradition it came to the seventy interpreters. This gift is called Cabala.'

Both the Cabalists and Reuchlin, in his philosophy, were principally occupied in acquainting themselves with the absolute Creator in his relations to his creatures. God is the creator of all beings which emanate from Him, in whom He implanted aspirations to attain actual communion with Him. But, in order that feeble man might attain this communion, God revealed himself to mankind in various ways, but especially to Moses.

A revelation like that of Moses must, according to Reuchlin, contain more than appears on the first glance into the Pentateuch; there must be a secret wisdom hidden therein, otherwise it would not be distinguished above other writings which also contain laws and moral precepts. There are in the Pentateuch many pleonasms and repetitions of the same things and words; we cannot charge God with having inserted useless and superfluous words in the Holy Scriptures; therefore we must believe that something more profound is contained in them, to which the Cabala gives the key. This notion arose from a feeling founded on something true, that is, on a right appreciation of the Bible, in which is deposited the revelation of God to men who exercise their conscience in religious matters. But Reuchlin was not clear about the relation of this conscience to the form in which the revelation was imparted; he did not separate with sufficient distinctness the form from the subject in this conscience—both were to him alike Divine. When naturally he saw nothing beyond the literal meaning, he sought one; and while he himself added something, he deceived himself into considering this as an inspired mystery, believing that he must not allow human authority to be valid therein. He continues: 'God, out of love to his people, has revealed hidden mysteries to some of them, and these have found the living spirit in the dead letter; that is to say, Scripture consists of separate letters—visible signs, which stand in a certain relation to the angels, as celestial and spiritual emanations from God; and by pronouncing them, the latter also are affected. To a true Cabalist, who has an insight into the whole connexion of the terrestial with the celestial, these signs thus rightly put together are the means of placing him in close union with spirits, who are thereby bound to fulfil his wishes.

He adhered strictly to the Biblical account of the existence and nature of God; spoke of him as Creator, Preserver, and Ruler, but put aside, as incomprehensible, the question in what relation God stands as Creator of all things to evil and its origin. Upon the words 'God created the heaven and the earth,' he said,—the Talmudists think differently from the Cabalists: the former understand by heaven and earth form and substance, both as visible; the latter suppose a double creation—a visible and an invisible world, material and ideal. These two worlds are in the most intimate union; the lower elementary world receives the influence of the higher, by which it is governed. The instruments by which the lower world is governed are the holy angels which emanated from it; they are the executors of the Divine commands, intermediate powers between God and Nature; they possess free-will, and according to it they conduct the affairs of the inferior world, not always in the same way, but with manifold changes. They have the utmost influence on corporeal affairs. Even the intelligence from which the various forms proceed is called angel, and as prefect of the whole Metattron. By him all the other powers were led, which also must be named angeli. The number of these angels is therefore infinite, but determined by God.

Reuchlin, like most of the Cabalists, connected the symbolic with the real Cabala. The symbolic is principally concerning letters, to which it gives mysterious meanings: the real, on the contrary, when theoretical, seeks to explain the Holy Scriptures according to secret tradition, and to exhibit a philosophical system of metaphysics and pneumatology; when practical, it teaches the art of performing wonders, and this again in connexion with the symbolic by means of an artificial employment of the Divine

name, of sentences, and the separate letters of which they consist.

Reuchlin used the symbolical Cabala to reckon the number of the angels, and added the idle speculation about their dignities and subordination[8]. These angels appear to us different according to the actual position and occupation of the spectator; some look for angels in the shape of men; others in the form of fire, wind, air, water, birds, stones, and such like[9].

Reuchlin made the learning of mysteries and wisdom to depend on holy dispositions; and only where these existed would the aim of the Cabala be accomplished. 'God,' said he[1], 'approves of holy dispositions alone in men as most resembling himself; He nourishes the heart by love, but also by a secret power seeks so to transform man, that he may dwell in God, and God in him. This transformation into the Divinity, by which we pass the limits of human nature, is concealed from us, and incomprehensible. To this state God gave peculiar names, and annexed certain conditions, on whose fulfilment he, as by covenant, dwells in us according to our wish. Concurring in this mysterious transition into God are certain words—some known, others unknown to us,—by the utterance of which God penetrates into our soul, and is, as it were, exhibited in us. This however does not fall to the share of all men, but only of the holy, pious, religious. In these views Reuchlin agrees with the celebrated Cornelius Agrippa in his occult philosophy.

[8] In his work de Arte Cabal. bk. iii., from τετραγράμματον יהוה, comes, in arithmetical proportion, the number of 72 angels from a certain emanation of God. So that י signifies in the enumeration 10, ו = 6, ה = 5; hence יה = 15; יהו = 21; יהוה = 26: total = 72.

[9] Almost the whole third book de Arte Cab. and de Verbo Mirifico, lib. i.

[1] De Verbo Mirifico, lib. ii. c. 6.

Reuchlin considered as the effect of this interior union with God and good spirits, a dominion over all nature, and the power to perform miracles, of which those secret words and signs are the means, either revealed to man by God, or imparted by intercourse with angels. By the right use of them those higher spirits comply with our wishes, and all nature together with them. The word, nomen integrale, whence all originate, is τετραγράμματον יהוה (Pythagoras has τετρακτὺς), by which every divine nature may be affected, when rightly understood and uttered, if it occurs in a holy disposition. The interpretation of this is now πενταγράμματον יהשוה (Jesus—for the ש gives the explanation of יהוה), the Λόγος—the Word; by the Word of God all was created, by the Word manifest in the flesh all happiness was prepared; so the promise was made to Adam, that from his seed should proceed the Mediator, by whom all believers should obtain salvation. This was the first most sacred and important cabala delivered to Shem, Abraham, and Moses. But in this Word is also contained the τετραγράμματον; consequently by this, as the revelation of the other, it must be possible to effect every thing. Also, by the single letters of this wonder-working word, man rules over all nature; by it, the apostles wrought miracles, and cast out evil spirits.

In praise of this name Reuchlin wrote his work De Verbo Mirifico, in which a Jew, a Pythagorean, and Capnion, held a dialogue, which ended in convincing the latter of the excellence of this Word.

The aim of the whole Cabala, which he referred to Christ and his kingdom, is, that the soul emanated from God should return to Him, which is the attainment of perfect blessedness. This he called the Sabbath; the end of the Cabala, eternal repose. To this we rise through the gate of knowledge, by the

narrow way of wisdom, and by the angels figured in the name τετραγράμματον, to the heavenly Jerusalem.

Reuchlin distinguishes the effects of magic from those which proceed by the cabala, in communion with God and good spirits: the latter tend to make man happy through names of light and of the blessed angels; but magic, a mischievous poison from folly, leads to corruption,—for it works by names of darkness and evil spirits [2].

Reuchlin believed in the influence of the stars, from the intimate connexion of the whole universe, even in predictions by them and by all uncommon appearances in nature, and in the correctness of astrological divinations, when carefully made by experienced men. Although Pico di Mirandola had combated this astrological superstition by decisive arguments, yet it was so interwoven with every thing in this period, that even the reformers who sought to destroy all superstition were not wholly free from that: Luther himself was entangled in it, though much less than Melanchthon.

Reuchlin's opinion greatly promoted the further progress of this superstitious tendency, this cabalistic fanaticism, especially at a time when any thing new was easily received from a desire of truth, and when another superstition under the garb of truth might so easily be added to those already excited, at a time when the formerly current scholastic philosophy perpetually expected its overthrow, from the disgust it was continually exciting. These cabalistic works of Reuchlin's, which were only forerunners of a greater, whose publication was prevented by the troubles and disputes of his latter years, were considered by his contemporaries as invaluable trea-

[2] De Art. Cab. lib. i. at the end.

sures; they were astonished at the new heavenly wisdom. Conrad Leontarius wrote to Wimpheling[3] on the subject: 'I never saw any thing more beautiful or admirable than this work, which easily convinces him who reads it, that no philosopher, whether Jew or Christian, is superior to Reuchlin. Not to prefer such a man to the Italians would be an everlasting disgrace.' Ægidius, general of the Eremites, wrote similarly to the holy Augustin[4], 'that Reuchlin had rendered him, as well as the rest of mankind, happy by his works, which had made known to all a thing hitherto unheard of.' Philip Beroaldus the younger sent him word 'that Pope Leo X. had read his Pythagorean book greedily, as he did all good books; afterwards the Cardinal de Medici had done so, and he himself should soon enjoy it.' Not learned men only, but statesmen and warriors, now learned the oriental languages, to penetrate the mysteries of the Cabala. Francesco Pico di Mirandola, the well-known fanatic Agrippa of Nettesheim, the prior Quonus and Petrus Galatinus, were Reuchlin's most docile pupils and adherents in this philosophy, which they still further propagated by their writings, and successfully transmitted even to the seventeenth century.

However much Reuchlin aimed at morality, and however far his own mind was from deceit, yet it could not but happen that afterwards, when this spiritual magic sank deeper into superstition, hypocrites should use it as a means of gain and for other iniquities; this was done especially by some physicians of later times. Certainly it must not be concealed, that the service Reuchlin rendered to literature was much abused by the perversity of some of his followers.

[3] The letter is prefixed to the work De Verbo Mirifico.
[4] l. c. p. 201.

The effects of the diffusion of learning by Reuchlin in Germany, upon the Reformation, were many and evident. The inert spirit was awakened from slumber, and obtained means of looking around; the faculties were stimulated and sharpened by the study of languages, criticism was aroused, what was unreasonable was detected and rejected; and error, which by custom had come almost to pass for truth, disappeared in proportion as it was suspected. Literary cultivation, which not only enlightened the understanding, but was also favourable to morals, by driving away the darkness, deprived superstition of powerful support, although unable to destroy it, not being absolute truth; the fetters of spiritual dominion slackened, and fell as the knowledge of right advanced. We must not indeed assume, that learning alone revived the disposition to religion, and that the Reformation would have followed from the efforts for literary cultivation alone; for history itself proves by innumerable instances the truth of the contrary proposition; but we must allow that it may well have prepared the mind for something higher, and when that which was higher began to spring up, might have kept it pure from extraneous matter, and fenced and secured it by various means. Precisely here must the influence of Reuchlin have been so much the greater, from his subordinating learning to its rightful aim, and so much the more did it become a preparation for the Reformation; since its purpose being to promote the religious culture of mankind, the mind thereby received a continual tendency and inclination to apprehend what was more elevated. Reuchlin's innumerable disciples were naturally the most zealous promoters of the Reformation; for it gave them back what their spirit sought after, finding its path already smoothed by them. The rapid spread of the Reformation could not have been ex-

pected if the minds of men had not taken a direction towards improvement, by previous cultivation and enlargement. We must indeed acknowledge the providence of God, who sent Reuchlin and Erasmus, his free agents, to prepare for the Reformation. Luther himself, who says a great deal that is excellent on that subject in his memorial to the senators of every town in Germany, fully recognizes the Divine guidance; among other things he says, 'We cannot deny, that although the Gospel came, and comes daily, by the Holy Ghost, yet it comes by means of languages, has been advanced by them, and must be sustained by them; even as when God willed to send the Gospel by the Apostles into every part of the world, he gave the gift of tongues for that purpose. No one knew wherefore God permitted languages to be brought forward till they first saw that it was for the sake of the Gospel which he chose to publish by them, and by that means discover and destroy the kingdom of Antichrist. Therefore let us open our eyes, thank God for the precious jewel, and hold it fast, that it may not be again snatched from us.'

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART III.

From 1519 to 1522.

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART THE THIRD.

REUCHLIN'S DISPUTE WITH THE COLOGNESE; ITS EFFECT ON THE REFORMATION, AND HIS LAST YEARS.

THERE could be no doubt that these literary efforts of Reuchlin would occasion a complete change of inclinations and opinions. The new liberal spirit must naturally wish to throw off the oppressive chains of ecclesiastical authority, and therefore opposed both the domineering priests and the hypocritical arrogant monks. This strife was at first merely general: the well-intentioned worked for good, and without standing forth in open war with the wicked, this good of itself restrained evil; but as corruption increased, opposition to the wicked became more active in direct assaults, and the combat was now more personal. With this conflict, and when truth was first restored to light by individuals, even there, where corruption commenced its reign, the Reformation began gradually to take root; for it was formed by opposition to corruption, and did not first

arise in the year 1517, which is fixed upon only as the epoch when the truths of the Reformation already often expressed had an ostensible operation.

The necessity as well as the origin of the Reformation is to be found in the declension of Christian living as much as of Christian doctrine, and abuses continually increased by the want of good teachers and priests, by the withdrawal of the holy Scripture the source of truth, and by the prevailing tendency towards mere cold reasoning. Wherever depravity predominated, there rose an opposition, exhibiting itself more powerful and influential, or weaker and more transient, according to different circumstances. This is best proved by the history of the Christian Church in the century before the Reformation. At the time when Reuchlin began his labours, the grossest vice, besides the above-mentioned ignorance, extended through almost all ranks in Germany. Against this he organized an ever-increasing party of his disciples, and of other men who were in advance of the times, so that at the beginning of the sixteenth century mention was made of two distinctly contrary parties in the German Church; that of the monks and priests, who tried to retain the populace under their yoke through ignorance, and that of their adversaries the liberal-minded, to which belonged all the friends of intellectual cultivation, or those who on a more limited scale assisted the cause of the Gospel. The longing for something better, which arose from weariness of oppression, and, above all, of iniquity, was highly favourable to the spread of the liberal party; many other things also contributed to it, such as the rapid circulation of their writings by printers who held the same opinions, the greater unanimity of their small number, and other causes. Printers were adherents of the reforming party, partly

from their own sentiments, partly because the extension of literature nearly concerned their pecuniary benefit[1]; therefore they naturally attached themselves to this class, and afterwards to the Reformation. During this time there are repeated complaints to be found on the part of the monks and authors of the Catholic party, that booksellers refused to print their works, or, if they consented, did it more carelessly than for their adversaries: Cochlæus also makes the same complaint. They increased more and more in all lands, and by mutual letters they lived in the most animated intercourse; yet there wanted an external link to unite them, and concentrate their activity upon one point. This the wise providence of God gave them in a man whom they all fully trusted, and to whom most felt themselves indebted as his disciples. It was Reuchlin, fitted for the purpose by his comprehensive learning and experience, and independently of this by his extensive connexion, from the multitude of his pupils, the celebrity he had already gained, his gentle yet powerful mind, his zeal for truth and its promulgation, and the respect and even dread of him entertained by the opposite party. The ostensible occasion was furnished by a dispute inconsiderable in the first instance, but most important to Luther's Reformation in its progress and consequences,—a dispute whose importance Reuchlin in the beginning did not suspect, though afterwards, when it had begun to extend, he recognized the wise purpose of God in making him a preparatory instrument of the Reformation. This dispute arose from a literary strife on no very material question, for its first subject was the propriety of burning some Jewish books; but it

[1] 'Literary controversy is the mainspring of the press,' a saying of the compositors; for this perhaps we are the victims of so many authors.

soon grew to an extent which passed these limits, and became a dispute about religion and truth generally, a battle for the restoration of knowledge against the iniquities of monks and priests, against their arrogance and despotism. The monks of Cologne guessed as little as Reuchlin the future result of this quarrel, and it is a mistake to say that they commenced it for the subjugation of the liberal party, or that at first they wished to revenge themselves on Reuchlin, the head of that party, or to injure him. This is contradicted, not only by the history of the course of the struggle, but also by the fact, that during the early years of it they continued to employ Reuchlin as their advocate, and showed him much civility. Neither ought the Colognese to be accused upon the very slightest grounds of intending, if their first enterprise of burning the books of the Jews had not been resisted, to destroy the holy Scriptures also, in order that their authority might be augmented by the withdrawal of truth, and not diminished, as was threatened. The simple origin of this quarrel testifies against this, and also of itself contradicts many other erroneous views. We may indeed maintain, that with this combat, when it appeared by the open participation of both sides, the Reformation in some sense began, but we must then remember that Luther applied it solely and directly to religion, to which hitherto it had only indirectly referred.

The occasion of the dispute was a baptized Jew, —Pfefferkorn, a man of much arrogance, excessive vanity and ambition, who ceased to respect truth and justice as soon as they opposed his passions. He had deceived those of his own religion by many frauds, and was therefore compelled to escape from their prosecutions by going over to Christianity in 1503 or 1504, in his thirty-sixth year. His neighbours, who could not respect him, and the religion he

had left, now became the objects of his revengeful hatred. The assurance of his friends that his conversion was from true conviction and inward turning of heart, is generally contradicted by the whole of his subsequent action, and especially by his unchristian conduct towards his former brethren [2] in the faith, in which a desire of vengeance continually transpires. His knowledge of Hebrew, though but very scanty, was to furnish an opportunity for his revengeful scheme. To this end he first tried to obtain favour and protection from the Dominicans, flattering them by the hope of the conversion of his former fellow-believers, which must have had some weight with that Order, who were anxious to make proselytes for their credit's sake. After his change many works appeared in pursuance of this end: his Judenspiegel [3];

[2] This Pfefferkorn of Cologne must be distinguished from a contemporary who was burnt in 1514; Ep. Obsc. Vir. p. 118. The history and confession of the baptized Jew at Halle, before St. Moritzenburg at the court of the Jews' synagogue, tortured with hot pincers, and afterwards burnt, 1514.

[3] At the end of this work—'This little book proceeds from me, John Pfefferkorn, formerly a Jew, now a Christian in the third year of my birth, a forerunner of the unbelieving Jews, one who stirs up false Christians, and a mirror of all righteous men.' Printed at Nuremberg by Wolfgang Huber, 1507, 4to; second edition, in 1508, at Cologne, afterwards translated into Latin; Speculum Adhortationis Judaicæ ad Christum, Cologne, 1507, 4to. This Mirror is divided into three parts, wherein he first treats of the faith of the Jews; then advises how they should proceed against the Jews, to bring them to the faith (i. e. they are to be compelled to hear the preaching of the Gospel, not to carry on any usury; then their books are to be taken from them, in which Christ and the whole Christian religion is blasphemed); and lastly, he treats of the change in the condition of the world. Reuchlin's repeated reproach to Pfefferkorn that he could not write Latin, is not only justified by others who were Reuchlin's friends, but also by the internal evidence that his writings appeared first in German, and then in Latin; and that his Latin works were brought out in different though always in bad styles. Add to this, a letter

his work 'Der Juden Beichte[4],' in which he treats first of the preparation for Jewish confession, then of the manner of it, of the absolution of the Jews, of the great injury of those who deal with them; thence he warns Christian princes against them, and gives the reason why many, though inclined to Christianity, still remain Jews[5]; then he treats of their paschal feast[6]: and he likewise wrote a work entitled the "Jews'

which Wolf preserves in his Biblioth. Hebr. vol. iii. p. 942, it is after his panegyric, and says: 'Andreas Ranter, Frisius Lectori: ostendit libellum hunc Teutonicum mihi Johann. Pfefferkorn, voluitque ut Latinum facerem. Ego hominis zelo perspecto, compilatione quoque satis bona et ordinata visa, suscepi id faciendum; non ut verba verbis assimilarem, magis rem et sententias sequerer, et effingerem pro virili mea et imitarer salva libri serie, plano, ut oportuit, sermone. Eum benigne legas oro, qui quamvis exiguus sit, multas et varias res continet et scitu dignas, quæ utilitatem cum jucunditate afferre possint.'

[4] The whole title:

'Ich heysch ein Boichelgyn der Joeden Bicht
Ill allen Orten vint men mich licht
Vil newe meren sind mir wail bekannt
Ich will mich spreyden in alle Landt
Wer mich lest, den wunsch ich heyl,
Doch dat ich den Joeden mit werde tzo deyl.'

Cologne, 1508.

The Latin translation is: Libellus de Judaica Confessione sive Sabbato Afflictionis. Nürnberg, by Weissenburger, 1508, 4to.

[5] In the third part he says: 'Drive them out of all countries, ye princes; forbid them their books, make them work like Christians; for by their usury they drain the blood of your poor subjects.'

[6] In this little book you will find an account how the blind Jews keep their Easter, and particularly how the passover is eaten; further, it is set forth how the Jews are heretics both from the Old and New Testaments, and therefore exposed to judgment by the law of Moses. At the end: 'by Johann Pfefferkorn, in the fifth year from his birth.' Published at Cologne, January 3, 1509; printed at Augsburg, fol. in Latin: in hoc libello comparative absoluta explicatio quomodo cœci Judaici suum pascha servent, etc. Colon. 1509, 4to. Among

enemy[7],"—which writings have all the same tendency. In them he endeavours to represent the Jews as more dangerous than the devil, as bloodhounds whom it is a Christian duty to persecute, to deprive of property, children, and books,—to pray to God for a judicial punishment upon them, and to condemn those who protect them as worse than the Jews themselves. But not content with having written against the Jews, and advised their persecution, Pfefferkorn wished to set an example by carrying it into execution in concert with the Colognese. They petitioned the Emperor Maximilian for an inquisition against the Jews and their blasphemous books, and manifested sentiments and language as hateful as those afterwards contained in the epistle of Pfefferkorn to Pope Leo[8].

The emperor, whose sentiments did not coincide with these doctrines, as he afterwards showed, suffered himself to be induced, after many intrigues, to issue from his camp at Padua, August 19, 1509, a mandate, requiring that all Jewish books injurious or insulting to Christianity should be sought for and destroyed by the preachers and magistrates of every place[9]. Pfefferkorn was the organ through which the matter was carried on with the emperor, and was naturally appointed executor of the mandate. With this authority Pfefferkorn now came to Reuchlin at Stuttgard, and required that he should travel with him to the

other things he remarks, that it should not be tolerated that the Jews should call themselves disciples of John, or that they should attach young people to them and support them.

[7] 'I am a little book, the Foe of the Jews is my name,' Cologne, January, 1509, in Latin: Hostis Judæorum hic liber inscribitur, qui declarat nequitias eorum circa usuras et dolos varios, &c. Colon. March, 1509. Heinrich von Nussia.

[8] See Lamentationes Obsc. Vir. Lond. edition.

[9] R. Augenspiegel, l. c. p. 17. (In Weisslinger's Hutteni Declaratio.)

Rhine, and support him in this business [1]. Many believe that mere cunning and enmity induced Pfefferkorn to make this requisition, in order to disgrace the reputation of Reuchlin, and to place the humane temper, for which he was generally known, in an unfavourable light: but there is scarcely any reason to be found for this hatred to Reuchlin; for he had not yet opposed, but, on the contrary, was in friendly intercourse with the Colognese as advocate of the Dominicans. It is more probable that Pfefferkorn wished for the concurrence of a learned man so generally respected, to give greater weight and dignity to his transactions; and yet more, since Reuchlin, being acquainted with the Jews' language, would have confirmed the decision of the Colognese against the Jews, by participating in it. This requisition was however revolting to the honourable man; he saw through the whole plan as well as through Pfefferkorn, and therefore declined his request under pretence of pressing business, yet did not neglect to exhort him to an amicable, not rash, but gentle arbitration in the affair, wrote out, at his request, on a sheet of paper, some deficiencies in the imperial mandate, and took leave courteously.

Pfefferkorn met every where, even from the ambiguity of the mandate, with the greatest resistance, partly among the magistracy, partly among the ecclesiastics, and found himself compelled to beg for a new mandate, by which he might have power to destroy all Jewish books except the Bible. The emperor, who would not act hastily, as he was not acquainted with the case, committed it to the archbishop Uriel of Mentz, and through him issued a mandate to the universities of Cologne, Mentz, Erfurth, Heidelberg, and to individuals acquainted with the Hebrew lan-

[1] l. c. p. 17.

guage—Reuchlin, Hochstraten, and the priest Victor of Korb, to investigate this matter. Reuchlin received from the archbishop the mandate of the emperor, and enclosed with it his letter to the archbishop, with the command to give his opinion, whether it was right and beneficial to Christianity to destroy the books in use among the Jews concerning the writings of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms?

Reuchlin delayed not, but immediately composed his 'Enquiry whether the Jews ought to have all their books taken away, destroyed, and burnt;' and sent it sealed by a trusty messenger to the Elector of Mentz, in August, 1510. In this document he first enumerates the reasons given by the adversaries of the Jews for the destruction of their books, whose contents they say are as follows:—they are written against Christians; they revile Christ, Mary, and the twelve Apostles; they contemn all Christian ordinances; they hinder the Jews from turning to Christianity, and strengthen them in their own religion. To make these reasons unassailable, the same sentence of condemnation and punishment was pronounced on those who did not counteract these evils, and help to destroy the books, as upon the Jews. Against this Reuchlin adduced the simplest doctrines of natural justice, referring to the acknowledgement of freedom of conscience; then, in order to answer the question whether the Jewish books did any hurt to Christianity, he divided their books into seven classes: 1. the Old Testament; 2. the Talmud, or exposition, by the most celebrated teachers of their religion, of all the commands and prohibitions contained in the five books of Moses (to the number of 613); 3. the Cabala, or deep mysteries of the discourses and Word of God; 4. commentaries on the Old Testament; 5. orations, disputations, and sermons; 6. works of learned men and philosophers; 7. poems, fables,

tales, narratives, satirical works, &c. Upon these last Reuchlin pronounces sentence, if they are actually directed against Christianity and its authors, of which sort he had, however, only seen and read two; and adds, that these writings are considered apocryphal by the Jews themselves. If a Jew possessed them knowingly, they might be destroyed, and the Jew punished, because he transgressed the law of the land, and had not, according to command, torn up a slanderous writing; but even in this case there should be no hasty proceeding, for the offence must be duly examined, and only punished upon a sentence justly pronounced, whether it concerned Jew or Christian. Reuchlin was certainly right, if he wished the existing law to be carried into execution: but as even this interfered with liberty of conscience, his opinion should first have combated this; he should have shown that Christianity conquered in every hostile encounter by truth; that she desired not to suppress freedom of conscience in any one, or to make any one the slave of another faith; that falsehood could never hurt truth, but that the kingdom of falsehood, in its inconsistency, required truth; that Christianity did not overcome her adversaries by persecution and external means, but rather charmed, and by a loving patience attracted them.

He continues: As to the Talmud, which was gradually formed in the first century after the birth of Christ, and contained the theology, laws, regulations, and medicinal science of the Jews, he much regretted that hitherto he had never been able to get it to read, still less to buy it, therefore he could not give any opinion: it was probable, indeed, that the Jews had inserted in it many things against Christ and his adherents, as they still often call him a disturber, a misleader of the people, and a blasphemer of God; yet, if they were scattered here and there in the Tal-

mud, no great mischief would follow, as he did not know any Christian in Germany who had read and understood the Talmud, except the grand master of Ulm, who had travelled into Turkey, and there returned to Judaism. The Talmud was a mixture of many oriental languages, contained many abbreviations, and therefore the study of it required not only much pains and diligence, but also the knowledge of these languages; even the Jews could not understand it, not to mention the Christians. But, apart from this, superstition and error must exist, as St. Paul says in his first epistle to the Corinthians, that truth and the power of faith may be the more manifest: besides, the Jews are not separatists or heretics, and we may not call them schismatics; for Christians sprang from them, the Jews did not detach themselves from the Christians.

Also, the Talmud would be a good remedy for the laziness and dulness of those who ought to study the Holy Scriptures, for much might be learnt therein for their interpretation, and for defence against the attacks of the Jews; it could not be the right way to burn books which men were unable to controvert by reason and truth; and that must be called a bacchanalian argument where fists decided when words were not sufficient. What could justify Christians in demolishing a book which they could neither read nor understand[2]?

Although several persons, as Raymond and Paulus Burgensis, and at the present time Petrus Nigri the Dominican, and Joh. Pfefferkorn, had laid to the charge of the Talmud many hurtful things and words, yet none of these had been pointed out. Our Chris-

[2] A proof how rare it was, and that so much the less harm could be done by it. We may conclude from the work de Art. Cab. that Reuchlin afterwards read it.

tian ancestors wrote nothing against, and had not the most distant idea of burning it. Had they, who were often more led by true faith than our contemporaries, thought such severity profitable, they would have burned the Talmud long ago. Here is to be considered and applied the precept of Christ—'Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and these are they which testify of me'—for the Jewish Scriptures also testify for Christ and his truth.

Reuchlin brings another argument by a simile. He remarks, that God did not eradicate the tree of knowledge of good and evil from paradise because Adam and Eve partook of death by it; so also the Talmud, which contains good and evil, must not be eradicated, but rather men should select the good, like a rose among thorns, and appropriate it to themselves and others. But if any chooses to maintain that the Talmud contains only what is bad, he pronounces quite ignorantly; for the medicinal part of it is very useful, and no less so the judicial and philosophical, which contains much that is historically important; and as to what concerns theology, it is by no means immaterial in an apology for Christianity, for Paulus Burgensis has cited fifty passages to this purpose; and what can be more advantageous than to beat the foe with his own weapons? The intelligent Christian, like a bee, must extract all that is good and wholesome from the writings of Jews as well as heathens; and if the foolish are annoyed, that is to be laid to their folly, and not to the books. Christ himself commanded not to root up the tares, lest the wheat also should be uprooted with it. If, however, there were a book wholly bad, it might still be burnt, as the Church had thus dealt with the books of Christian schismatics: she has a right to do so, but she must not assume any power over books written out of Christendom.

These words show a mixture of timidity and freedom. To be consistent, Reuchlin should have acknowledged that there was truth contained in the writings of the so-called schismatics, often more than in those called orthodox, and that they must have the same claim to have the good extracted from the evil without destroying the whole, like a rose from among thorns, as he had shortly before said. He distinguishes here between a right beyond and one within the Christian Church, yet does not found both on one and the same truth, but makes one conditional on something external.

We learn one noble instance of his liberal spirit from Manlius, l. c. p. 87. It was a custom in Stuttgard, that the principal ecclesiastic should annually fetch from the chapter at Constance an authorization to administer the sacraments. As the revenues of this office were considerable, Duke Ulric gave it to some young men among the nobility, (formerly Naucler had it, and afterwards Brentius,) who did not trouble themselves much about fulfilling it, and did not fetch their authorization. Now there arose a dispute among theologians whether, under these circumstances, the administration of the sacraments could be considered valid and effective. The lovers of darkness were zealous against their validity, while Reuchlin and others, on the contrary, defended their efficacy as well as their validity, because that which was a divine grace could not be limited by external things, or nullified by human folly, and so much the more since the folly had not proceeded from contempt of the matter. With the same freedom with which he distinguished human traditions from what was essential, he had, by studying the New Testament, arrived at the conviction of the remarkable difference between the doctrine of justification as represented by the Romish Church, and as it

stood in the Holy Scriptures: he was here also the forerunner of Luther. Manlius, l. c. p. 75, says that Melanchthon heard Stöfler and Reuchlin, when disputing about Christian doctrine, say to a Scotist, 'We find in the Holy Scriptures a theology and doctrine of justification quite different from your glosses.'

After Reuchlin had set forth his arguments for retaining the Talmud, he went on to the Cabala. Here he supported himself by the authority of the Church, which had declared in its favour, through the popes, and had even acknowledged it to be so profitable for Christian faith, that Alexander VI. and Sixtus IV. had caused it to be translated into Latin.

This reason must, indeed, have been most conclusive to Reuchlin's adversaries; for they could not reject it without trenching on Church authority, and raising the public voice against themselves.

As to the commentaries of learned Jews upon the Bible, they taught the words and sense of the Hebrew language, together with the rules of grammar, and they should no more be burnt than the commentaries on heathen books, such as Priscian, Servius, and Donatus; moreover, the Christian expositors of the Old Testament learnt and extracted so much from these commentaries, that if only their own discoveries were separated, very little would remain. Thus it was with the learned Nicolas de Lyra and others. An inestimable loss would thus result in the exposition of the Old Testament, since the Jews are almost the only persons thoroughly acquainted with its language; for Christian commentators, as Hilary, and frequently even Jerome, have failed many times, in the true meaning of words, for want of knowing the language.

As little as he could advise the destruction of these writings, could he concur in that of their sermons, disputations, books of songs, and ceremonies, &c.

These too had never been attacked by the popes: the Jews had enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, when it was not contrary to all justice. There is no law which can be appealed to in favour of such conduct. Their philosophical books, and those upon the fine arts, had the same rights as the philosophical writings of the heathen, and therefore ought not to be burnt, whether they treated of forbidden arts, as magic and witchcraft, by which they sought to injure men, or whether they did not try to injure, but rather to do good.

If it is objected that the Jews composed their books against Christians, this is not altogether so true as is thought; for some were written before Christ, others do not touch upon the relation between Jews and Christians, but contain judicial or medical subjects; and as the Jews are an oppressed party, more defensive than offensive writings may be expected from them. We must remark, that had their object been to offend against Christ, yet, strictly speaking, as Christians we should have no real right to destroy these books; for Christ has by no means taught us to revenge ourselves on offenders. Then also, Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, must meet with similar treatment[3]. If the Jews do actually defame Christ, Mary, the apostles, and the Christian system, it is in the conviction that their religion is true, and ours false. Still less can it be maintained as a reason for their destruction, that the books of the Jews contain so much falsehood; for then all books must be condemned, since none are faultless. Another argument of these adversaries of the Jews was, that the Jewish interpreters had purposely permitted falsification and

[3] On this occasion Reuchlin properly blames the evil custom of the Catholic Church, to condemn the Jews from the pulpit on Good Friday.

wresting of the text. Against this Reuchlin said,—Every expounder, much more every commentator, should apprehend the Scripture in a critical spirit; but it may easily be seen whether his work is to be accused of deception, or only of error. In the first case, no one is obliged to receive it; in the second, it must be refuted. It is certain that these Jewish interpreters often mistake, but not that they wilfully deceive, which remains to be proved.

The last argument of the adversaries appeared to Reuchlin the most cogent; it was, that the Jews were confirmed in their erroneous faith by their books. He allows that every man in after-life has a prejudice in favour of that which he learnt in his youth, in which he was educated: this however was no reason against quitting it, whenever he could acquire something better. Was not St. Paul an example, who, by the grace of God, which never fails, became from a most bigoted Jew a most liberal Christian? If the Jews would only reflect upon their scripture in real earnest, it must lead them to Christ's word; but if this seriousness does not exist, they will not be converted by the destruction of those books. History has in all times instances, that those who attentively and diligently read the writings of their forefathers were first converted. This is shown in Petrus Alfonsus, Joh. de Podio, M. Hieronymus, Paulus Burgensis, &c. &c. If it were granted, that the writings of the Jews are injurious to Christianity, yet Christians would have no right to destroy them, for God will judge, it is not man's business: the Jew belongs to his own Lord as well as the Christian; if he falls, to his own Lord he falls, and others must refrain from judging him, for the Christian has nothing beyond the Jew but the name of Christ. A true Christian temper does not wish to judge or to

revenge; the Lord himself forgave his enemies, and sharply reproved John and James when they begged for fire from heaven upon the inhospitable town.

In conclusion, Reuchlin showed what disadvantageous consequences would arise from the violent extermination of the Jewish books. He argues, that if the Jews think we are afraid of their acute reasonings, and therefore use force to rob them of shield and weapons, they will certainly write new books, which may be still less favourable to Christianity. The Jews would then appeal to tradition, and if men seek to oppose them from their burnt books, they will accuse the opponents of false citations: how can these then justify themselves?

Reuchlin knew human nature far better than his adversaries, to whom he was obliged to represent the truth, that what is forbidden usually attracts men; that zeal for these books and their doctrines would only increase; and that through this zeal still more errors would creep into their doctrines. This took place among Christians at the time of persecution:—when their writings were destroyed they adhered still closer to each other; but also fanatics and heretics found easy access; and notwithstanding this, the heathen by no means attained their object. Finally he added, that it would be far more advisable to oblige every German university to maintain two teachers of Hebrew for ten years; by which means so many would become learned, that they might argue rationally with the Jews upon their religion, to lead them by gentleness and conviction to Christianity.

This decision of Reuchlin is throughout distinguished by mildness, seriousness, and clear views of the essentials of religion, and their relation to the soul of man. The principle, that none should be persecuted for religion, that conviction is the only

way to conversion, that above all things, freedom of thought and conscience should be conceded, were worthy of a liberal Christian, but they were especially estimable and influential in such an illiberal time, in which every sort of persecution might be expected to attend their expression; so much the more, since they opposed corrupt opinions, and since the proceedings resulting from them appeared dangerous and unsuitable. And so it happened; the depraved monks perceived not the truth which might have convinced them, but rather resistance to their base schemes, and hindrances to their efforts; such contrariety naturally provoked these minds the more in proportion as they were alienated from truth, and in no condition to refute it. Therefore they roused all the passions to enflame them in the strife. Whence we may conclude beforehand, that the replies of the monkish party would contain only personalities, sophisms, and lies; this was actually the case.

Reuchlin's opinion was opposed by Pfefferkorn, probably assisted by the monks of Cologne, either because the archbishop of Mentz had committed this cause to him as Advocate, or that he had in some way[4] endeavoured to obtain it. The natural consequence was an invective against Reuchlin by the fiery Pfefferkorn, which he composed with the help of the Colognese, and particularly of Hochstraten, and published in 1511 under the title 'Handspiegel' (handmirror); he partly sold it during the spring mass at Frankfort, and partly gave it away to circulate it the more extensively. This Handspiegel was to counteract the opinion of Reuchlin, and demonstrate the necessity of burning the books of the Jews. Full of

[4] Reuchlin in his 'Defensio Contr. Calumniatores' accuses him of opening the letter, which we are not justified in believing upon the guess or assertion of an enemy, even though attributed to such a man.

bitterness and calumny against Reuchlin, it reproached him, among other things, with ignorance of Hebrew, deception in the composition of his lexicon and grammar, they not being his own works, bribery from the Jews, &c.

Not satisfied with this, since all their lies and machinations would be discovered if Reuchlin's letter were read, they suppressed his opinion, and did not forward it to the Emperor. Reuchlin complained personally to the Emperor at Reuthlingen, both of the suppression of his opinion, and of the unjust slander of those whom he had never attacked, and whom, as he related, he had always entertained hospitably and honourably, whenever they came to him. The Emperor was exceedingly displeased at the conduct of his Advocate, but as he was hastening on about important business, he left orders with his council to have the matter examined by the Bishop of Augsburg. The councillors forgot it, and Reuchlin vainly expected a citation to Augsburg. He therefore wrote to the Bishop, and learnt that nothing had been transmitted to him by the imperial council relating to the matter. Much as he wished to see the affair settled by high authority, in order to get rid of his enemies, yet he thought he ought to take upon himself the vindication of his insulted honour, and his defence was the work which appeared in the autumn of 1511, under the title of Augen-Spiegel (Speculum Occulare), and was greedily bought and read by all parties.

In this work he first relates the occasion of the quarrel, communicates the commission of the emperor to the Archbishop of Mentz, and his mandate, as well as the accompanying letter of the Archbishop to himself; and as he had prudently kept a copy of his decision, he made it known in the Augen-Spiegel, first in the form in which it had been presented, and then

added to it a Latin disputation, in which he adduced fifty-two reasons against the destruction of the Jewish books; (in the scholastic manner making objections to them himself, and answering them;) then followed the refutation of the Handspiegel, in which he remarks, that Pfefferkorn in his reply had not adhered to truth, but had acted most unjustly towards him; therefore he reduced the whole treatise to thirty-four falsehoods. To the above-mentioned reproaches he answered; that Pfefferkorn himself had recommended him to the Emperor and Elector of Mentz, as one particularly skilful in the Hebrew language, as he had narrated to him in his own house; if this had not happened the Emperor would have known nothing of his acquaintance with Hebrew, since it was never his manner to boast, which would only have degraded him. As to the accusation that the Hebrew lexicon and grammar were not his own works, he points out that there was no grammar before his, that he had been the first to collect and arrange the rules, and make them intelligible to the learned;—none could have made the lexicon or grammar for him, there was no one in his house, as Pfefferkorn knew, and whoever else had helped him he challenged to come forward; for by him the learned had been taught. When Pfefferkorn maintains, that according to Divine justice no man should hold communion with the Jews, he expresses therein mischievous sentiments; for himself, he only knows that we should love our neighbours, whether Jews or Pagans; when Scripture forbids associating with wicked men, it means that a Christian should avoid company which would weaken his faith, or be injurious to him; but it by no means says that the Jews are these wicked men. If he is reproached, that not only in this, but in many other things, he is a sinner, he answers; that in this case he is not so, but that he is sinful in many things,

he does not deny before God, and confesses it in penitence before Him. Against the imputation that he was bribed by the Jews he can only appeal to a pure conscience, and it could never have been made but by a malicious person, who did not hold truth sacred when he wished to injure another [5].

Scarcely had the Augenspiegel of Reuchlin appeared, when it was in the hands of the most learned men of the times; but however much the greater number rejoiced at the exposure of Pfefferkorn, some intimate friends of Reuchlin were equally vexed at this step. Among these, Pirkheimer first wrote to Reuchlin in the year 1511; 'I hear that some annoyance disturbs thee; but thou who art so adorned with virtue and knowledge, thou needest not be so easily frightened. Believe me confidently, no one can so soon obscure thy fame and thy honour; endure then with a firm mind these affronts from thy foes, and despise their machinations. Virtue is always exposed to the envy of sycophants [6].' In another letter, 'Formerly the Ephesians forbad to write the name of the bad man who set fire to the temple of Diana, that he might not gain his object to be mentioned in history. But thou makest a man of no importance, unknown to all the learned, famous by thy writings. Reflect maturely on what thou shouldest do here [7].' Two other friends at Vienna, Johann Cuspinianus and Joachim Vadianus, advise him not to meddle with this worthless man, who would spare neither his reverend age nor his established fame. He would be doubly esteemed when contrasted with such a frivolous, thoughtless person.

Vadianus says, 'It is indeed honourable to thee to take the part of the persecuted, but disgraceful to him

[5] Reuchlin's Augenspiegel, l. c. p. 52.
[6] See his works, p. 213.
[7] l. c. p. 78.

who, when his arguments for persecution are overthrown, turns against the man who defended him. I fully agree in the principles thou hast expressed in thine apology, for to destroy by fire what might be opposed by intellect and reasoning is by no means a token of a wise man, who relies on the sure foundation and certainty of our faith.' Mutian in Gotha, afterwards a zealous friend to Reuchlin, did not at all approve his 'Opinion,' for in a letter to Urbanus he says, 'Our friend Reuchlin's opinion aims as much at the renown of the author as at the general benefit; besides the purpose of bringing forward arguments, there transpires throughout a wish to appear learned.' In the same letter, he accuses him of having too freely departed from the authority of the Church and her interpretations [8]. Mutian afterwards, in his further progress, recovered from this narrow-mindedness and timidity. Erasmus also was much vexed that Reuchlin should commit himself with such an abandoned man, and expressed his sentiments to Pirkheimer [9]: he calls Pfefferkorn a vicious man, ay, a man made up of vices, who had innumerable subordinates to refresh his powers when he was weary, who could hardly be overcome; therefore it was unbecoming, and generally fruitless, for an enlightened man to engage with such a person; from whom nothing but disgrace could be obtained, whether he was conquered or not. Reuchlin answered Cuspinian. 'I have willingly taken thine advice before all others, I must indeed beware of repelling railing by railing; but I must resist any suspicion of infamy attaching to me, and defend my innocence.' He declares that he was driven to this step entirely by the fault of his enemies.

[8] He writes: 'Autoritatem ecclesiæ refellere, cum sis hujus corporis membrum, et contumeliosum est et plenum impietatis, etiamsi erroris deprehenderes.'

[9] Pirkheimeri, Ap. pp. 268, 269.

Although this was true, Reuchlin might have perceived upon due reflection, that if he had been silent; and had not opposed any new defence beside the publication of his opinion, his adversaries must also have been silent; so much the more, because, as his friends rightly judged, that such a man was not capable of depriving Reuchlin of the respect of the discerning. The wise providence of God, however, knew how to turn this free, but impetuous act of Reuchlin's to good, and make it important.

It happened as Reuchlin and all his friends foresaw—his enemies were not silent. Scarcely was his Augenspiegel known in Cologne, when the whole faculty of theology openly took part in this quarrel. They committed the examination of the Augenspiegel to Arnold von Tungarn, who immediately undertook it; and the result was, a difference of opinions whether the book should be burnt, or the author cited to answer for it. These movements in Cologne were communicated to Reuchlin[1] by a friendly Dominican, Ulric, preacher at Stanheim, who was then living at Cologne; and the consternation at this, which led Reuchlin to dread the worst, from the power of the order, and examples of their severity and cunning, so overcame the timid man, that he forgot how upright his conduct had been in this matter, and how decidedly it was his duty not to give up the truth he had defended, and not to forsake the innocent. It was not the love of peace which influenced him here, as some say, though that was certainly his characteristic, but simply dread of the power of the monks. In this terror he wrote to Arnold of Tungarn, whose whole disposition and conduct were well-known to him, and at the very first lavished upon him the most extravagant flattery,

[1] l. c. p. 115.

merely to gain his favour; yielded entirely to ecclesiastical authority, and was ready to retract every thing he had taught or written, even what related to the Holy Scripture, which did not coincide with the Church as the pillar and foundation. Even his "Opinion," as the work of a layman, he submitted to the decision of the Church; and, above all, begged that it might not be imputed to him, that he, a layman, had spoken of theology as a country-priest does of medicine. He, at the same time, declared that he did not mean to offend any university, or any man personally, that he had a good conscience, and that his will had never swerved from Christ, the Head of the Church. Therefore, he prayed Arnold of Tungarn to have patience with him; he writes, "Command, and I sheath my sword, but thunder before the flash[2]." He sent a similar letter to Conrad Kollin (Conrad of Ulm), professor of theology, and member of the order of Dominicans, in which, after many praises, he communicates briefly the course of the dispute, the contents of his Augenspiegel, and the common report, that Pfefferkorn had made the grand inquisitor, Hochstraten, criticise his Handspiegel, that the latter had not failed to irritate him still more against Reuchlin, that it was even said the Dominicans had stirred up the matter, which, however, he could not believe, both because he had been so long a brother of the order, and had once even been matriculated by Stubach, and because he had been so faithful a protector to it in many legal cases, without ever taking payment or reward[3].

How true this report was, is shown by a letter of the 2nd of January, 1512, from the Theological Faculty to Reuchlin. Arnold von Tungarn and

[2] l. c. Jubeas velim et monitus recondam gladium, cantet mihi gallus et flebo, prius tones, antequam fulmines.

[3] Briefslg. p. 118.

Kollin gave up the letters they had received from Reuchlin to the Faculty of Theology, which, emboldened by his writing so humbly, reproached him bitterly under the cloak of religious zeal and paternal care, because he had made himself to be suspected of a leaning to Judaism, had ventured upon sophism and offensive words and doctrines in his "Opinion," so that his sincerity in the faith appeared doubtful; he ought, therefore, to remove the stumbling-blocks which he had thus thrown in the way[4]. They would even help him, as he pretended he could not find them out, and sent him a specification of the passages which seemed scandalous, and in which he had not sufficiently cleared himself in his published Latin defence (the Augenspiegel); he was to explain these further, and retract them, after the example of the holy Augustine.

The faculty sent this letter and the propositions to Reuchlin through Kollin. He accompanied them by an answer, in which he remarked upon the indulgence of the faculty for Reuchlin, hinting that they were already reproached as being too gentle and patient, as the Augenspiegel ought to have been already condemned. The faculty were, however, thus indulgent because they expected a better, more complete, explanation of this work, to which as a jurist they gave him a clue in these propositions; for, of course, it was no wonder if a jurist could not penetrate into theological subtleties. At the same time, in order to urge Reuchlin by a threat the more effectually to a recantation, he added, 'all ecclesiastics and laymen anxiously await the sentence of the faculty, and are all ready to rise against thee; but if thou shouldest be acquitted by our faculty, no one will dare condemn

[4] l. c. p. 121.

thee[5].' These words had the desired effect, for Reuchlin's fear of the order[6] increased, and he thought only of an accommodation; yet his peculiar love of truth, which terror had nearly overpowered, again took possession of his soul, and he wished so to manage the reconciliation, that truth should not be sacrificed. In this he was confirmed by a letter from Pirkheimer[7], warning him not to renounce the truth; he writes, 'take care thou art not moved by the disgusting hypocrisy of these monks to swerve from the truth, but show thyself a stedfast man.' He then returned to the faculty thanks for their consideration, and begged an explanation as to the manner in which he must alter his declaration[8]. But he wrote to Kollin[9]: 'Thou wishest me happiness in the new year, but without making peace with me. I am certainly much obliged by thy courteous regard; I honour and love thee: I will not even deny the ignorance of theological subtleties attributed to me, yet I must own that I am much displeased with the assertion of the faculty, that by my 'Opinion' I tried to hinder the proceedings successfully commenced against the books of the Jews: it could not have been my intention in composing my 'Opinion' to thwart

[5] Briefslg. p. 123: 'sunt religiosi et sæculares, qui omnes exspectant sententiam nostræ facultatis. Et quantum ego advertere possum, omnes parati sunt adversus vos insurgere. Si autem per judicium facultatis absoluti fueritis, nemo erit, qui condemnabit.'

[6] Erasmus himself wrote to Pirkheimer; see his Works, p. 268: even Alexander VI. was afraid of this order; for he said, he would rather offend one of the greatest kings than one of this herd of liars, who, under pretence of practising and promulgating Christianity, exercised the greatest tyranny over the world.

[7] Pirkheimer ap. p. 399.

[8] Briefslg. p. 125.

[9] l. c. p. 127.

this affair, for I did not know it was begun ; I myself decided that real designedly injurious writings should be burnt ; it is not the case that I have given occasion for scandal by my ' Opinion,' the traitors who broke open the ' Opinion ' demanded by the emperor, and published it, are guilty of this, and not I. Supposing, however, that according to the accusations of the faculty, there are in my ' Opinion' ambiguous unintelligible words and expressions, I have annexed my Latin declaration in the Augenspiegel ; and if that is not enough I cannot tell what would satisfy you[1].' Referring to the words of St. Paul, he continues, ' teach me in the spirit of kindness and gentleness, and take heed to thyself lest thou also be tempted.' Finally he added, ' whenever you show me that I have spoken contrary to truth, I will remove every stumbling-block which can give offence, so that there may remain only that stone, that Rock, rejected by His contemporaries, which is Christ, in whom we possess that peace which unites all, and watches over us, even to eternity.' From all this it appears that Reuchlin was fully aware that Pfefferkorn was the organ of the Dominicans.

The theological faculty fully perceived, especially from this last letter to Kollin, that if they did not hurry the matter, and pronounce some authoritative and terrifying sentence, Reuchlin would not be recalled, particularly as he had truth on his side, and appeared more disposed to defend than to renounce it. Therefore, it was too tedious for them to send Reuchlin new specifications upon the propositions, and to wait for his answer; they rather wished to make an end of the matter before he awoke from his dream ; and they gave out at once their determina-

[1] ' Satietas,' he further says, ' in solo satiandi animo consistit pro modo recipientis et non rei receptæ.'

tion, declaring to him, that if he was really anxious to remain a member of the Catholic Church, he must do more than he had hitherto done to remove the stumbling-stone, and not leave the sword sticking in the wound. To this effect, the first step was not to allow any more copies of the Augenspiegel to be printed and sold; next, that in a pamphlet he should declare that work to be annulled, and contrary to the Catholic Church, and make known his error about the Jewish books, otherwise they would be compelled to cite him before the faculty, as they were weary of writing and counter-writing. How much they aimed at moving Reuchlin by threatening and terror, and to make it a religious and sacred matter to him, appears by the words—'Reuchlin could never bring a more welcome sacrifice to God, or please him better, than by following their advice to recant; for if he should be so unwise as to neglect this, after his death there were not wanting those who would pull the dead lion by the beard, and condemn him and his writings [1].' This haughty, insolently authoritative letter, which trod under foot all truth and nobleness, and shamelessly sought to make human falsehood the cause of God, was naturally well calculated to open Reuchlin's eyes, to provoke his truth-loving soul to the utmost, and to make the meanness of the monks of Cologne contemptible. To this effect a letter from Kollin accompanying the former documents contributed; in which, quite dissatisfied with Reuchlin's former letter, he requires him to take further measures for excusing himself. He could not, of course, take up a dictatorial tone like the faculty, so he concealed his deceitful cunning under the cloak of friendship; reminded Reuchlin of all the services he had already rendered him in this quarrel; to which he added the recent ones of

[1] l. c. p. 131.

having dissuaded Hochstraten, who would otherwise have cited him to Cologne; and of having prevented an arrangement for laying the matter before the Archbishops of Germany, which would have ended in the burning of the Augenspiegel; but that if he did not now hasten to obey the will of the faculty he could do no more for him[3].'

Nothing was easier than for Reuchlin to see through the great gaps in this cloak of friendship, and recognize clearly the snare of his adversaries, for it only tended to suppress the truth that they might reign the more securely in darkness. He, therefore, fixed on this pretended friend to exhibit clearly to him, as to a confidant, his whole sentiments, but added also a letter to the faculty[4]. He here clearly avows his opinions, in a somewhat ironical way repeating their words, that they could no longer doubt about his recantation or conviction.—'I have already long begged a formulary by which I might be guided in my explanation to remove the pretended scandal; but not having obtained it, I will (though not able to unfold to every man his dream or his fancy, even if a twofold spirit of Daniel dwelt in me,) publish a declaration at the next mass, and not leave the sword sticking in the wound: in this I will arrange the old and add new where it is necessary. This however will confirm some, but give rise to calumny in the fraudulent and slanderers, so that they may pluck the dead lion by the beard. As to what belongs to the further sale of copies of the Augenspiegel, this is no longer in my hands, but in those of the booksellers, from whom I myself have to buy copies for my friends.' He thanked Kollin for his friendly

[3] p. 133.

[4] l. c. p. 134. This letter is dated March, 1512: the accompanying letter to Kollin is at p. 136.

services, promised him the speedy publication of his declaration, and assured him, that relying as much on the counsel of the wisest men as upon the help of the powerful, it might be that if he were attacked his adversaries would receive more hurt than he inconvenience. Therefore, the colleges were as much obliged to him for the preservation of peace as he was to them; they might as well consider, while there was yet opportunity, that strife was more easily begun than ended, especially as it might be foreseen what a stir there would be among the noblest combatants in Germany when they first learned in what a disgraceful manner he had been betrayed, calumniated, and oppressed, and when they saw that the faculty had adopted the notorious Pfefferkorn. As great a disturbance would be produced among the learned, of whom a very great number had been taught by him only, and who, as was reasonable, would not forsake him in this emergency, and by their writings would hold up the memory of the high school of Cologne to posterity in no very favourable light.

What Reuchlin prophesied naturally followed, since the Colognese were by no means willing to be silent. No sooner did Reuchlin's German declaration, which of course did not coincide with their wishes, appear at the Easter mass of 1512, under the title 'ain klare Verstentnus in Tütsch[5]:' than they endeavoured forcibly to hinder the sale of the one thousand copies prepared. Their tool in this was Peter Meyer, a priest of Frankfort, exposed by the Ep. Obsc. Virorum. Through Pfefferkorn he caused the booksellers of Frankfort to be forbidden to sell Reuchlin's declaration, giving out that he was commissioned to do so by the elector. However, as soon

[5] l. c. p. 170.

as the elector heard of it he permitted the sale, thus invidiously stopped, to proceed. This insolence did the monks themselves much harm, made them suspected by those who were ignorant of the matter, and still more hated by their adversaries; the affair was consequently made more public, and the result was that the apology for the Augenspiegel was so greedily bought up and read, that it was shortly out of print. Not only the learned, but the multitude became thereby acquainted with the subject of the quarrel; even in the neighbourhood of those very monks of Cologne Reuchlin's works were eagerly read; a Colognese senator could repeat whole paragraphs from the Augenspiegel, which he constantly carried about with him in his bosom, a sign how far this dispute had extended already. From many quarters partisans and friends wrote to Reuchlin, wished him success, and expressed their joy that he abided by truth, and ventured to oppose the feared and hated monks.

As falsehood never rests, but when one device and fraud is frustrated, seeks another for the sake of vengeance, the Dominicans now adopted a new species of violent measures. The detected lying priest Peter Meyer announced from the pulpit, that at the festival of St. Mary Pfefferkorn would preach from that place, and he invited his hearers to this invective. This was again an unheard-of liberty taken by these begging monks, for in any other case they would have stormed if a layman, still more a married man, had mounted the pulpit, yet they not only tolerated but upheld this illegal proceeding.

Reuchlin still lived in hopes of an accommodation [6], although determined not to give way in any manner inconsistent with truth; how was he astonished

[6] Defens. contr. Calumn. p. 92.

therefore to receive at Whitsuntide, instead of a citation, the 'Articuli sive Propositiones de Judaico favore nimis suspectæ ex libello Theutonico D. Johann. Reuchlin. leg. Dr.' (Cologne, 1512, 4to.) from the Colognese, in which they collected the erroneous and scandalous points of the Gutachten and Augenspiegel, as well as of the German Erklärung, in forty-three Articles. Arnold von Tungarn was here the tool of the monks, and through him the epistle reached the emperor. At the same time Artuinus Gratias, as teacher of the belles lettres at Cologne, took part in the proceeding, and composed a satirical poem on Reuchlin. A copy of this work soon after its appearance was bought by Anselm, and sent by his corrector Joh. Hildebrand, a scholar of Reuchlin's, to the latter, with an exhortation to his wonted gentleness. No doubt the Articuli were drawn up in the most obnoxious tone, although no new arguments or proofs were to be found in them, only new revilings. The old accusations of Pfefferkorn, that he defended the Jews, to the detriment of the Christian religion, recommended their writings, wished to ingratiate himself with them for his own advantage, that with impious tongue he spoke of the Fathers of the Church who were held sacred, that he cited legal authorities against the Catholic Church, and even against Christ, and so forth, these were repeated here also: the refutation was in fact written before the appearance of this work; which Reuchlin points out to Hildebrand, while he refers him to it on each separate article.

All hope of reconciliation which he desired must now have vanished, for the Colognese, to make the matter known beyond Germany, had put forth their Articuli in Latin, and dedicated them to the emperor. Reuchlin then did the same with his Defensio contra Calumniatores Coloniensis, 1513, and it may well be

imagined that Reuchlin's fluent pen would easily bring over to his party the readers who might have been somewhat prejudiced by the former work. Reuchlin in this publication first narrates to the emperor the course of the affair, and his whole connexion with the mendicant monks, proves that he had treated faithfully of the doctrines of the Church, and had throughout done nothing against the Church of Christ, but only against the monks, who considered themselves the Church of Christ. Then he particularized the false reasonings and false translations of his adversaries, and thereby defended himself against their reproaches.

If it be granted that Reuchlin was obliged to justify himself by this work addressed to the emperor against the mendicants, yet we cannot approve the manner in which he did it, and so much the less, when contrasted with his former gentle character; certainly the provocation of his enemies was not trifling, especially considering his conscious innocence and the justice of his cause; yet he ought to have perceived that the very consciousness of combating for truth should have appeased his spirit; that truth as heretofore, so ever, would charm most in the most dispassionate form; that he derogated immeasurably from his position and his dignity, when after the example of his opponents he gave them, and particularly Pfefferkorn, nicknames; when he again at the conclusion exhibited his angry passions in these words; 'Some will blame me for having dealt too mildly with these people, but I promise them to reserve the stripes which the Colognese do not receive now for the other cheek, if they rage against me again [7].'"

Reuchlin's true calm friends, such as Pirkheimer, judged correctly; this ever prudent counsellor wrote to

[7] l. c. p. 92, 93.

a friend on this subject these admirable sentiments; 'Reuchlin's enemies write indecorous things, but I, instructed in the Christian divine doctrine, know that our Saviour's precept is not to revile again those who revile us; I know that it is a credit to any man to turn peacefully away from slanderers, but I hold him to be a fool who gives himself up to such practices like a pagan philosopher, and does not perceive that true Christian holiness abhors unseemly language. I have often blamed even Reuchlin when he followed his passions more than his *reason*; *notwithstanding* his reply, that the crime of schism is too hateful for a man to bear the accusation of it with a tranquil mind, and it is easier to remain cool in the affairs of a stranger than in one's own vexations.' Pirkheimer had previously written him *the true* words; 'Cum tu taces, pro te veritas loquitur' (be thou silent, and truth shall speak for thee); but Reuchlin would not allow these arguments to be valid, and in a letter sent to Faber Stapul. with the Def. I. Cal. he appeals to Socrates, who defends not himself against those who attacked his life, but did so against those who injured his honour [8]. Erasmus in a letter to Reuchlin, after praising his defence, finds fault with the long digressions into commonplace which have scarcely anything to do with it, and still more with the opprobrious names, which would have been unbecoming in any man, how much more in one so well informed.

But these admonitions of his friends could no more check the matter, which had already gone too far, than the edict of the emperor Maximilian of 1513, in which he commanded both parties to be silent [9].

[8] Brfslg. p. 155, where at last he says: 'Moriendum enim semel, infamiam patiendum nunquam.'

[9] Reuchlin's letter to Henricus Urbanus, preacher of the

The Colognese were so enraged at the silence enjoined, and at the complete escape of Reuchlin from their hands, that they were by no means disposed to be passive while Reuchlin had evidently the advantage, and while they felt the superiority of his pen; hence nothing appeared to them more necessary than to put him down by force; they therefore made the matter the cause of monachism generally. A man who had hitherto worked in secret only, now became at once judge and accuser. This was the inquisitor Hochstraten, (also Hooch Straten from his native place in Belgium, sometimes Hoogstraten and Hogstraten,) prior of his convent, and soon after inquisitor, for the judging of heresy was avowedly committed to the Dominicans. He became known by his dispute with Reuchlin, and afterwards by his zeal against Luther. As to his character, it was so manifest in the combat with Reuchlin, that a description of it here is unnecessary, only thus much we may here say with truth, that in him the whole herd of monks was personified [1].

Cisterçian Order in Tenzelii Hist. Goth. Suppl. p. 115, and the letter of Reuchlin to the Abbot Leonhard von Ottobewen, in Schellhorn's Amœn. l. c. p. 598.

[1] Echard Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum, p. 67—72, and Bayle Dictionn. under Hochstraten. Echard, who as a brother of his order quite takes his part, and passes over whatever would exhibit Hochstraten disgracefully, relates, that his adversaries reproach him with ignorance of Latin, and adds pointedly, 'sed fidem et disciplinam ecclesiasticam in ejus libris nemo non agnovit *Catholicus*.' Hochstraten died Jan. 21, 1527. His writings appeared printed altogether in 4to, at Cologne, 1526. Hermon von Menar says of him, in a letter to the Emperor Charles, June 5, 1519 (which letter is preserved by H. von der Hardt in his Anigmat. Prisci or Bisp. 574). 'Pestis est in Germania Jacobus Hochstraten, quem si restrinxeris, *ἔσται πάντα καλῶς*' homo præter ingentem suam audaciam insigniter impudens atque temerarius. Omnes interroga, si libet, per Germaniam doctos viros; omnes hæsit,

His first business was, under colour of justice, to suppress the writings of Reuchlin upon the Jewish books, and therewith the whole movement in Germany at once, for not only Reuchlin personally, but also the growing love of learning, and the freedom accompanying it, which threatened to overthrow the dominion of the monks, were thorns in his eyes. As in him was personified the whole herd of monks, so he expressed their sentiments entirely, and all the mendicants were easily united in this hatred to freedom of thought.

Pfefferkorn, the first combatant, made way for one more powerful, and henceforth seldom appeared on the scene, since Hochstraten conducted the process of inquisition against Reuchlin. This likewise was as arbitrary a stroke as any of the former, for according to the laws of the order, the inquisitor might not undertake anything against any one in another province, not even though its provincial were to empower him. Hochstraten was in fact a Netherland inquisitor, and therefore Mentz, to which Reuchlin was cited, was not within his boundary [2]; there was no pretext to be found upon which he could rightfully begin the process, for Reuchlin had not been guilty of any schism, for which alone he could have been summoned before an inquisitor; and to cite him for assertions which savoured of heresy, as the defence of the Jews and their books was considered to do, was nothing to the purpose; for any man who sets about it may find heresy in every assertion by means of false inferences; besides, there was no accuser who should have moved the inquisitor to the

omnibus æque invisus est.' Erasmus says of his works and of Pfefferkorn's; 'Nihil sunt, nisi merum mel.' See Pirkheimer's Op. p. 277.

[2] See the letter of Reuchlin to Wympheling, in Majus. Vita Reuchlini, p. 390.

citation; hence it arose that the citation did not take place in a legal manner, that is by a sworn messenger, and was not an authorized, but a private writing. As little regular was the appointment of the time, for Reuchlin was to be in Mentz on the sixth day after reading the document. Reuchlin therefore sent a procurator with full powers, Petrus Staffel of Nurtingen, to appear at the time appointed by Hochstraten (since he himself being an old man could not travel that distance in so short a time), with commission to protest against Hochstraten as judge, for he was known throughout not to be impartial, but on the contrary to be an enemy to his person and writings; because, further, his whole party accompanied him as subordinates, because Hochstraten did not understand Low German in which the Augenspiegel was written, and because the whole process had hitherto been conducted in an illegal manner.

The reasons for rejecting Hochstraten as judge, Reuchlin was willing to exhibit before two umpires, and chose on his part the suffragan bishop Wacker of Worms [3], leaving it to Hochstraten to select such another for himself. But Hochstraten, who must have had the worst of it in any regular proceeding, of course neither would nor could agree to this; he therefore gave sentence before his commissaries who were like himself, therefore in fact before himself alone, and on this account Reuchlin's procurator appealed to the Roman see. Hochstraten, to give the cause the more appearance of justice, now laid down his office of judge to play the accuser, thinking he had still sufficient influence. By his contrivance, with the permission of the Archbishop of Mentz, some councillors of Mentz were chosen as commissaries, who were, however, Dominicans, or at least

[3] Ep. ad Wimphelingum in Majus, p. 390.

Thomists[4]. These would not receive the appeal of Reuchlin; and although his procurator was not present, they affixed to the cathedral of Mentz, early in the morning of the 27th September, instead of a citation an edict, inviting all who wished to witness the proceedings against the Augenspiegel to appear at three o'clock on the afternoon of the same day. On this day Hochstraten gave out his libellus accusationis, Contr. Spec. Ocul. Johann Reuchlin[5] (1513), in which he repeated, in a somewhat different form, the same accusations which Pfefferkorn and the Colognese had already made. The next day was then appointed for a fresh judgment; witnesses, who were Colognese Dominicans, alone were heard; and as there was naturally no defence set up, in the afternoon the matter was declared to be decided, and the next day fixed for the final term, at which no less was determined than that Reuchlin's Augenspiegel must be burnt in the market-place. Hereupon they now issued a mandate, stating, 'that every man who possessed the Augenspiegel must give it up to the Inquisition, upon pain of exposing himself to the punishment of excommunication.'

Scarcely was this mandate published, when the professors of the University, the students, and many considerable men, declared indignantly that they had never heard or read of so arbitrary and shameful a process, or one which was conducted in so tumultuary and illegal a manner. The whole Chapter, with its Dean, now adopted Reuchlin's cause; and among them Marquard v. Hatzstein, Theodorich v. Zobel,

[4] Hermann, v. d. Hardt represents the case, as if Hochstraten had from the beginning had councillors of Mentz to assist him in this; but Reuchlin's letter to Wimpheling contradicts this.

[5] This libellus is to be found in the Actis Judic. which are printed by Hermann, v. d. Hardt. p. 94, 95.

and above all, the Dean Lorenzo von Truchses. They obtained from the Inquisition a delay of fourteen days to summon Reuchlin to make atonement at Mentz, and this was conceded upon the supposition that he would not appear[6]. The Chapter immediately hastened to communicate this to Reuchlin, but were silent as to the sentence already pronounced by the Inquisition, for fear he might not come, and antedated the letter by four days. Reuchlin appeared in Mentz on the 9th October, accompanied by two men who were sent with him by the Duke of Wurtemberg, Jacobus Lempus, professor of theology and jurisprudence at Tübingen, and a noble warrior, Heinrich v. Schilhing, præfect of Fachingen. Notwithstanding this, Hochstraten announced the confiscation of the Augenspiegel from every pulpit, and would not agree to the accommodation which the Chapter proposed. Reuchlin himself then appealed, before a notary and witnesses, to the papal chair from such unjust judges, while the Chapter sent a courier to the Archbishop of Mentz, who then resided at Asthaffelnach (Aschaffenburg), to make him acquainted with the whole process, and to beg the delay of a month.

Meanwhile, the day of termination came on, and at about eight o'clock on the 12th October, while the Chapter were yet uncertain how their request had been received by the Archbishop, Hochstraten in solemn pomp, with his Colognese, and many doctors and professors of the University of Löwen and Erfurth entered the chamber of justice. They were followed by a great multitude of people, to whom the Dominicans had promised an indulgence for three hundred days if they would attend the execution of the sentence. More than a thousand curious and superstí-

[6] l. c. p. 98.

tious people resorted to the chamber of justice. Hardly had silence been obtained among the multitude, and the sentence was to be begun, when suddenly appeared a messenger from the Archbishop with an order, which was directly read in presence of the people, that the execution of the sentence should be deferred for a month, as the elector hoped for a reconciliation between the litigants. If, however, the Dominicans would not consent to this suspension, he thereby recalled his councillors, and declared all that they had done or should do invalid.

Nothing could be more unexpected, or more disagreeable to the Dominicans than this mandate; they had never guessed this step of the Chapter, the judges turned pale to see all their contrivances overthrown at once, in the very moment when they fancied they had conquered. Not so Hochstraten. He jumped up in the greatest rage, protested against the interference of the elector, which with excessive insolence he called a withdrawal from justice, appealed to the papal chair, and published this appeal by a placard on the cathedral of Mentz. Meanwhile his confederates gradually withdrew through a side door from the chamber of justice amidst general derision, the forsaken Hochstraten soon followed them, and was obliged to endure the taunts of the spectators. In his appeal to the papal chair he now accused the archbishop of having placed obstacles in the way of the verdicts of the church, and thereby offended against the church itself; but he soon recalled the appeal to the Pope upon reflection, and the advice of some of his party: he as little dared to accept the disputation upon Reuchlin's affair in the University of Mentz, proposed to him and his party by Sempus. Reuchlin thus returned without doing anything to Stuttgard, after the elector had recalled his commission, and addressed his appeal to the new Pope, Leo

X., who immediately, in a brief which he granted on the 21st November, 1513, charged the bishop, George of Spires, with the investigation of this matter, either personally or by another[7]. This latter, on the 20th December, issued a citation to both parties, Reuchlin and Hochstraten, and appointed the determination to be at Spires[8] thirty days after the receipt of the citation, before his two sub-delegates, the canons Thomas von Truchses and George von Schevalback. Reuchlin appeared with the procurator he had chosen, Master Joh. Greiff; but Hochstraten sent, without appearing himself, a Dominican, Joh. Horst, of Romberg (also named Kerspe), yet not as legal procurator, for he had not furnished him with any legal powers, whence it followed that he refused even to give bail. The commissioners therefore could not admit him, and consequently issued a new citation on the 20th February, 1514. Reuchlin appeared here also, but Hochstraten still stayed away. As Horst could say nothing against an appeal to the Pope, it was admitted as just by the commissioners, and further proceedings of the suit were stopped[9]. Upon this, Horst now showed an authorization from the spiritual consistory at Cologne, and the prior of a Dominican monastery at Worms, who was present, gave a licence to the lector of his monastery to act as procurator in Hochstraten's cause. While the process was carried on in this way, the Colognese arbitrarily condemned the Augenspiegel, and burnt it at Cologne in February, 1514; and not content with that, in order to make the Bishop of Spires and his sub-delegates contemptible, and to

[7] l. c. p. 66. [8] Ib. p. 100, 101.

[9] l. c. p. 102, Meiners, who minutely relates the history of this process, leaves out this second citation, and closes the history at the first citation; it is, however, quite correct according to the acts and their dates.

annoy Reuchlin, they sent Pfefferkorn to Spires, and by him caused a sentence of condemnation of the Augenspiegel to be affixed even to the episcopal chamber of justice. The sub-delegates forbad Pfefferkorn with a severe reproof to do such insolent things, and threatened him with excommunication if he permitted himself to be guilty of similar audacity before the cause was decided [1]. Reuchlin, however, was not satisfied with this; he composed a small Deutsche Schrift (German pamphlet), in which he complained not only of the illegal proceedings of the former court of justice held at Mentz, but of the conduct of the monks in despising the present judges and their authority, and in injuring him; and he exposed the reasons for this unlawful dealing [2].

In the following session, as the Colognese would not recede from the sentence given in Mentz, the procurator of Reuchlin gave in a fresh declaration, in which he examined the whole dispute historically, justified his own conduct, and proved that of the others to be throughout completely illegal and arbitrary. As this little defensive work was circulated in Germany, the Bishop of Spires read it through carefully with some experienced advisers, partly jurists, partly theologians, and this occasioned him to inspect the process itself more narrowly. As, however, Jacobus Hochstraten did not appear upon repeated citations, and his procurator declared the cause could not be carried on at Spires, refused to recognize the judges, and therefore appealed to the Roman see; the cause was continued according to the proposition of the active procurator of Reuchlin, and decided in his favour. Perpetual silence was enjoined upon Hochstraten and his party, the Augen-

[1] l. c. p. 105.

[2] The pamphlet itself, which was printed, and whose contents are given in the Actis Judic. is probably very scarce.

spiegel of Reuchlin was declared free from heresy, and not hurtful to the Church; his work upon the Jewish books impartial, his expressions with regard to the Church and her teachers respectful and true, and therefore the reading of these books was permitted. Jacob Hochstraten, on the contrary, as he had neglected the repeated legal citations, was sentenced to pay for the expense of the process, 11t gold florins, within thirty days after the receipt of the requisition. In case of refusal he was threatened with an excommunication, and its publication in all the Churches of the monasteries, especially in those of the Dominicans. Should he take no notice of that, the excommunication would be generally published, and an interdict laid upon all who should receive him[3].

Hochstraten paid no attention to this verdict, but trusted to his appeal to the Pope, which, however, was invalid, because he had not notified it to the tribunal at Spires. His followers despised as he did the papal decision through the bishop, who though but a child, as they chose to consider him, would draw up a sentence; 'it was easier to catch a hare asleep, than to determine in this case.' They carried this contempt of all their opponents, and haughty rashness so far as, under the guidance of Pfefferkorn and Artuin, to cut in pieces with a sword the verdict posted up in Cologne; and when Pfefferkorn was asked whether he did not fear the apostolic censure, he cried out in the presence of more than 300

[3] This sentence, given on the 24th April, subscribed by Hochstraten's secretary, Conrad Sies, of Heppenheim, as well as by Reuchlin's notary, Andreas Gudell, and delivered to Hochstraten on the 18th May, is in the Actis Judic. 112—116, and in Reuchlin's Preface to the Athanas. lib. psalm.

men, that he should not have a grey hair the more for the papal censure [4].

Reuchlin, meanwhile, since Hochstraten made no preparation for obeying the sentence, but quite mocked at it, and intended to prolong the affair, feared the cunning and rancour of the Dominicans, the more since he heard that they tried to gain over all the universities. Therefore, as the adverse party increased, and the voice of the University of Paris, on which all eyes were fixed, was important to him, he wrote thither, and expected no unfavourable judgement through the influence of some considerable friends, such as the celebrated Jacob Faber; at least, he hoped to hinder their concurrence with the Colognese. He narrated briefly the course of affairs, enclosed the writings concerning the dispute, and begged them not to forsake their former disciple. Even his prince, the Duke of Würtemberg, forwarded a letter of recommendation to the faculties, in which he requested a faithful examination of his subject's cause, and remarked to them that Reuchlin had always been a sincere adherent to the apostolic see [5]. Soon after the arrival of Reuchlin's works at Paris [6], came also the deputies from the University of Cologne, with their articles against Reuchlin, hastened to the king, and endeavoured to gain him through his confessor. Henceforth, neither Reuchlin's letters, those of his prince, nor the efforts of his friends, nor the justice of his cause, were of any avail; for the confessor of Louis XII. carried the cause of the Dominicans with the king, and with the faculty of theology. It is true, there was a powerful opposition on the part of

[4] Briefslg. p. 168, in the letter of Hermann von Busche to Reuchlin.

[5] l. c. p. 157.

[6] Budæus, Hist. Univ. Paris. fol. tom. 4to. p. 61—69.

Wilhelm Copus, the excellent physician of the king, who had formerly studied with Reuchlin in Basle for several years, and through the influence of Jacob Faber, with the faculties. But at last, though not till after forty-seven sessions, Reuchlin's Augenspiegel was condemned to the flames. They contrived not only to gain over these faculties, but also those of Löwen, though not in a very honourable way; those of Mentz and Erfurth had already embraced their cause, and condemned the Augenspiegel[7].

Trusting to this power, the Dominicans began to rage more and more against Reuchlin; and wherever these monks resided were heard invectives against the poets, as they called Reuchlin's party, and their leader. Now appeared, under the name of Artuin 'Prænotamenta liberalium disciplinarum professoris citra omnem malevolentiam cunctis Christi fidelibus dedicata;' and as the name of Pfefferkorn had become so public, it was prefixed to many of the abusive writings about Reuchlin, whether he was their author or not; so it was with the famous Sturnsglocke[8], which came out in 1514, whose principal composer was probably the Dominican Wigand, in Frankfort; in it, the verdict at Spires was held up to contempt and ridicule, the usual accusations were heaped upon Reuchlin, and it was endeavoured to excite the whole country against him.

During this, Reuchlin trusting to the goodness of his cause, and that he might leave nothing undone, by which he might at last obtain repose, referred his

[7] The sentence of the theologians of Erfurth upon Reuchlin's Augenspiegel, is to be found in Tenzelii, Suppl. Hist. Gothanæ, vol. i. p. 98; and an account of the burning of it, p. 107. They all came out under the title, Decisiones Quatuor Universitatum de Speculo Oculari, &c. 1514.

[8] In which were included the mandate of the emperor, and the decision of the University of Paris on the Augenspiegel.

suit to the Roman see; sent the original acts with the register of the first and second application, and all other documents belonging to it, with an entreaty that the process with his furious adversaries might soon be ended. The Emperor Maximilian countenanced and supported his request, considering it his duty to protect this innocent, upright man, who had done him much service; and it was the more necessary to impose silence on these daring theologians, since they had insulted the Pope's decree, as also himself and other princes [9]. Together with the emperor, the archbishop, and Cardinal von Gurk, the Elector Frederic of Saxony, Louis of Bavaria, the Duke Ulric of Wurtemberg, the Margrave of Bavaria, five German bishops, thirteen abbots, fifty-three Swabian towns, and several magistrates, likewise interceded. The Pope Leo X., who favoured literary exertions, as he had himself some pretensions to learning, inclined to Reuchlin as a man of acknowledged acquirements, and committed his cause to the well-informed Dominicus Grimani, a truth-loving, liberal-minded man. He (on the 8th June, 1514,) summoned both Hochstraten and Reuchlin to Rome; the former was to appear on the thirtieth day after receiving the citation; the latter, on account of his great age, and the fatigue of the journey, had the privilege of not appearing personally, but sending a procurator [1]. Reuchlin, therefore, endeavoured immediately to engage one in Rome, but at first his most devoted friend, Jacob von Questemberg, could find no fit man; every one feared the power and revengefulness of the Dominicans and Hochstraten. At last he engaged a prudent lawyer, Johann v. d. Wick, afterwards Syndic at Bremen, who undertook Reuchlin's cause with as much zeal as courage.

[9] Brfslg. at the end of the 2nd book.

[1] Act. Jud. p. 150.

At the appointed term Hochstraten appeared at Rome, furnished with many recommendations from princes and universities, particularly from that of Paris, from which he had great hopes, and also with a large sum of money, by which he expected most easily to distort right into wrong [2]. His first concern was to obtain another judge besides Grimani, in Bernhard de S. Cenu, through whom he might expect the most favourable result for himself, which could not be hoped from Grimani, who was a lover of truth. Bernhard was not only the patron of Hochstraten, whom he had released from the excommunication, but also a friend to the Dominicans of Cologne, who had entertained him hospitably on his embassy to Germany. But this attempt was defeated by the just arguments adduced by Reuchlin's procurator against his impartiality, and Leo chose the Cardinal de St. Eusebio for the second judge. While the process went on in Rome, the Dominicans at Cologne abused Grimani, called him a silly fellow, and no well-wisher to the Church, and publicly said, that if the matter were not decided in their favour at Rome, they would revolt from the Pope and create a new schism, or appeal to a general council, where they must have justice, since there the faculty of theology had the preponderance [3]. Others despised the Pope's sentence, and were of opinion that it little signified what he determined, for the Church consisted of themselves only, and the Pope would not be acknowledged as Pope if they did not agree to it. However, not to leave any weapon unemployed, neither power,

[2] l. c. p. 120. Echard says the contrary, l. c. 'Reuchlinus quidem literis primorum Alemanniæ principum, ac plurium civitatum maxime commendatus, Romam se confert; Hogstratus vero, quoad mihi constat, non nisi propria conscientia fretus.'

[3] Ep. Obscur. Vir. p. 100.

threats, cunning, nor even bribery, they several times sent Hochstraten valuable bills of exchange, among others, one of 1500 gold crowns. Hermann von Busche, who saw the whole scene in Cologne, could not restrain an open ironical expression, that such sums were quite enough for the maintenance of a begging friar even if he were benevolent, and shared them with many others.

Notwithstanding this, in the beginning of the year 1515, for so long Grimani and Anconitani were still occupied with this affair, an examination of the Augenspiegel was proposed, for which a Latin translation was necessary. Hochstraten immediately showed himself ready to help in this, and submitted one to the judges, which however, though provided with seals and signatures from the Colognese, was not admitted on account of its incorrectness [6]. According to a legal enactment, translations of the Augenspiegel were now made by sworn men of each party, and compared on an appointed day and hour. The translator on the part of Reuchlin was Dr. Martin Groning, from Bremen, who pointed out nearly 300 passages intentionally, or accidentally, falsified in the translation of the opposite party. His adversary did indeed try to point out eight faults in his translation, but could not maintain them against Gröning, and as impartial critics coincided with him, his translation, as correct and blameless, was made the ground of the examination [5]. This inquiry, of course, proved favourable to Reuchlin, and there seemed now to be no more obstacles in his way; but the restless Hochstraten would not yet yield, however his cause might appear to decline. He endea-

[5] Brfslg. p. 197. Welser, Provost of Regensburg, to Conrad Pentinger.

[6] Ep. Obsc. Vir. p. 137.

voured likewise to defend himself in writing[7] against the accusations brought against him; and to the impeachment that he dared to burn the Augenspiegel at Cologne, while the process was pending at Spires, he replied, 'that not he, but another inquisitor had done this.' He presented the greatest variety of warnings to the Pope, that the papal power rested on the pillars of the mendicant orders, and that if these were taken away his importance would fall with them. The Pope was not so easily to be frightened or won over as Hochstraten fancied, and he therefore took the circuitous road of cunning, striving at least to protract the process, that he might perhaps in greater length of time find a more auspicious moment for his operations, or that the aged Reuchlin might leave him an open field by death. Therefore he strove to represent the dispute as a matter of faith, and so either to increase the number of commissaries, or else to obtain a Lateran council, in which he could have the preponderance by the number of his real or purchased friends. But Reuchlin's procurator, who saw through the plan of his adversary, resisted it with effectual energy, showing by conclusive arguments that this dispute did not originate in difference of faith, but merely from the envy and pride of the Dominicans; that it related to a *fact*, and therefore must be decided according to the common justice of mankind.

Hochstraten could not, however, mistake about the Pope and his court; and as he had anticipated, he succeeded at last in finding a favourable moment in which he could make an impression on the Pope's hard heart by means of his strong-box; then, indeed, Leo could no longer withstand his pressing entreaties, for a complete commission for the decision of this

[7] In his Libellus Supplex, Leoin 10, Ded. 1515.

matter. He chose such an one, probably, from the Lateran council, which had been summoned in opposition to that of Pisa (1511), the assembled cardinals, archbishops, bishops, penitentiaries, referees, generals of orders, doctors of theology, amounting to about eighteen members [8]. After several sittings, on the 2nd July, 1516, a written vote, accompanied by the reasons for the decision, was required from each judge, and here the majority of voices was for Reuchlin; Georgius Benignus, also Archbishop of Nazareth, particularly praised Reuchlin's Augenspiegel, and condemned the abominable jealousy of the Parisian, and other universities, in which, however, he was contradicted by the mayor of the palace (Sylvester Peierio, a Dominican), expressly hired by Hochstraten, as a newly-elected member of the commission. Reuchlin's Augenspiegel was now declared, not only harmless, but even edifying; allowed to be printed in Rome, and Hochstraten pronounced worthy of punishment [9].

Sentence should now have been delivered on Hochstraten; but the affair suddenly took another turn, for Hochstraten's money, with several other reasons, induced the Pope to issue a Mandatum de Supersedendo, whereby the public declaration of the sentence, and so the conclusion of the whole process, was put off at the discretion of the Pope; and the exertions of Hochstraten, who now thought himself secure, went so far, that although the process and

[8] In Georgii Benigni Defensio pro Reuchlino, which appeared in Germany, in 1517, there were only eighteen members mentioned; the enumeration of twenty-five in the Ep. Obsc. Vir. is therefore a mistake. The information in this work coincides very well with the Act. Jud., in which twenty-two are spoken of; for according to the same account, two of each party afterwards seceded; so that the sentence was drawn up by eighteen.

[9] Ep. Obsc. Vir. p. 99.

the sentence of the judges against him were known every where, he caused notices to be put up in several public places of Rome, that he would defend his opinion of the Articles he had drawn from the Augenspiegel, before a council [1]. Nor were these the only grounds upon which the Pope issued that mandatum, d. s.; the intercession of the emperor, and of the most illustrious German princes, who more and more adopted the liberal party, induced him not exactly to give the victory and triumph to the liberals, although Reuchlin himself was very agreeable to him, and he wished to protect him from his enemies. But it was just from him that there was most to fear, if the princes, to counteract the corruptions of the Church, urged a reformation, as Maximilian had done in 1510. If these had found their wishes against the powerful monks complied with by the Pope, it might easily have been the occasion of new demands. Besides, he had great reason to fear, that if Reuchlin received public satisfaction from the monks, his friends, whose number was continually increasing, would, after the defeat of this enemy look around them for another; and as many voices were already against the Roman Curia, the next would be against the order of priests. Such a voice, heard with pleasure by the liberal party, was the work of the learned Wimpheling; 'De Germaniæ nationis et imperii gravaminibus contra sedem et curiam Romanam ad Æneam Sylvium Senensem tunc temporis episcopum,' &c. June, 1515, in which he endeavoured to set up the rights of the German nation against the pretensions of the Roman court, and on some points severely handled the Lateran council then sitting upon Church reformation. Likewise, it was not concealed from him, that the Hussites and Bohemians generally adopted

[1] De Arte Cab. Reuchlin, in the beginning.

the cause of Reuchlin, who had given a perceptible shock to scholasticism itself, on which the whole ecclesiastical system was built; and though personally inclined to the new literary activity, he dared not let his convictions operate in the least to the prejudice of the papal power. On the other side, neither could he make the monks his enemies by condemning them, even though he would willingly humble their increasing consequence.

The judges reproved the audacity of Hochstraten, and declared that his whole affair had been sufficiently examined on all sides; they caused his notices to be torn down and trodden under foot. By this last assault upon his judges, Hochstraten had drawn upon himself universal detestation; and the scorn and disgrace to which he was now everywhere exposed, induced him to withdraw secretly from Rome.

The result of this process is an excellent characteristic of the proceedings of that time in Rome, and of the conditional love of justice in the heads of the Christian Church; and also an indirect portraiture of Leo. We may hence see to what a height the corruption of the mendicant monks had risen, together with their arrogance; how little they valued truth when it was contradictory to their passions; how they sacrificed even that for which they pretended to fight, whenever it might occasion any disadvantage to them; how they actually despised the Catholic Church and her supreme head, when she sought to secure herself against their domination.

Hochstraten, [illegible] difficulty, escaped from the hands of the [illegible]sts on his return to Cologne, where he hastened to concur with his brethren in threatening the Pope, that if he allowed them to sink[2] he would make common cause with the Bohemian heretics.

[2] Pirkheimeri, Oper. p. 283.

Though the violence of the Dominicans ceased, their attacks against the Reuchlinists and their chief had not ended; and we must finally pursue the written polemics of the head of this party, Hochstraten, before we more accurately consider the confederacy of Reuchlinists and their influence. Partly to justify himself to his own set, partly to annoy and injure his adversaries afresh, partly to defend himself against Reuchlin's advocates, he wrote his apologies. The first which appeared, at the spring fair of 1518, contained the most impudent lie, by which he cajoled his party; that is, that the Pope requested him to be reconciled to Reuchlin, but he declined, and begged for justice, while Reuchlin purchased with Jewish gold the Mandatum de Supersedendo from the Pope. He complained in it of the attacks of Reuchlin in his Art. Cabb., also of Pirkheimer's Piscator, and especially of George Benigni's Defensio; as to which latter he spoke as if he did not believe him to have been the author of this work [3], that he might be the more at liberty to lash it. At the autumnal fair he published his second apology, which was probably written by Artuin, and only appeared under his name, that he might calumniate other worthy friends of Reuchlin. He insulted the Count Nuenar by the most offensive and coarsest nicknames; but as the latter made preparations for bringing an action against him, he was compelled to apologize. (The report of his having been driven

[3] Echard, Script. &c. part ii. p. 70. Reuchlin Ep. ad Nuenarum in H. v. d. Hardt, Hist. Ref. p. 138. 1st, Georgii Benigni Archiepiscopi Nazareni pro Joh. Reuchlino Defensio cum præf. Herm. Nuenarii comitis et Martini Groningi Bremensis; 2ndly, ejusdem Dialogus, an libri, quos Talmud appellant, sint potius opprimendi, quam tenendi et reservandi, 1518, 4to.

out of Cologne by Nuenar is unfounded, at least there are no ascertained data for it.)

When Reuchlin saw his firm expectation of the speedy end of the process, so suddenly disappointed by the Mandatum de Supersedendo, he, as well as many of his friends, feared that his adversaries would appear openly against him again [4] at some favourable time; and it cost Hutten much trouble to encourage him, and even his wisest friends. Even the Emperor Maximilian, who had the cause of Reuchlin much at heart, was anxious when this mandate was issued. Already he had taken pains himself to procure advocates for Reuchlin among the learned. He heard accidentally, that the learned theologian, Petrus Galatinus, intended to publish a work in defence of Reuchlin, and on that subject he wrote a letter to the former, wherein he exhorted him not to delay the publication of his work, and to take *his* Reuchlin under his protection, against the assaults of his enemies. Galatinus answered; 'that in so far as his limited abilities permitted, he would not fail to protect that learned and most worthy man. He must confess, that not the Emperor only, but also Pope Leo himself, had expressed his wishes for the defence of Reuchlin.' Beroaldus the younger also, who actively embraced the cause of Reuchlin in Rome, communicated this disposition of the Pope [5], and Paulus Geracander, in a letter to Reuchlin, relates [6], that Poggio, of Florence, had lately interceded for him, and declared that he had read the lucubrations of that German; and that evidently injustice was done him. Upon which the Pope answered, 'Never fear, Poggio, I will not suffer any

[4] Reuchlin's Ep. ad Nuenar in H. v. d. Hardt.
[5] Brfslg. p. 202. [6] l. c. p. 197.

harm to happen to this man." Galatinus, meanwhile, completed his work in Apulia, and published it two years afterwards, in March, 1518[7]. He wrote it in the form of a dialogue, in which Reuchlin and Hochstraten, who played a most pitiful but appropriate part, argued upon the Talmud, its mysteries, and their efficiency in corroboration of Christianity. This work, whose appearance had already been announced by the Provost Pothen, of Cologne, to Reuchlin, delighted him excessively (Brfslg. p. 125, conclusion), and he communicated to Pirkheimer in a letter, in 1519, his great joy on the occasion[8].

Hochstraten, who did not feel himself much complimented by the part he was made to play here, thought to hit both his adversaries at once if he taxed the whole of this Cabbalistic taste with heresy; besides which, he thought himself attacked by Reuchlin's work, De Arte Cabbalistica, which he had dedicated to Leo, to increase the Pope's favourable disposition towards him; for this purpose Hochstraten wrote his Destructio Cabalæ seu Cabalistæ Perfidiæ a Joh. Reuchlino seu Capnione, in 4 books, Cologne, 1519, 4to[9], which he also dedicated to the Pope.

A year afterwards he was met by Ulrich von Hutten, then escaping from Brussels, who sprang from his horse and called out, Halt, thou infamous rascal! thy life is at stake; now at last thou shalt receive the reward of thine iniquities.' Hochstraten, terrified, fell on his knees; but this ebullition on the part of Hutten subsided, and he let him go his way after a few strokes with the flat of the sword, that he might not, as he said, pollute his weapon with such blood[1].

[7] Under the title of Arcani Catholicæ Veritatis, libri 12.
[8] Pirkh. Ap. p. 260.
[9] Printed again in 1594.
[1] Erasmus certainly does not relate this fact correctly (in

As to the ostensible occasion of the confederacy of Reuchlinists, a scheme was formed for requesting the assistance of Reuchlin's friends as early as the years 1513 and 1514, when he came forward openly against his enemies, and the combat became more general. He was the more confirmed in this by the well-known alliance of the Dominicans of Cologne with their brethren in all countries, and the before-mentioned participation of several universities with the Colognese. So the strife between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn was at first only openly directed against the latter, but soon against the faculty of theology, then against the Dominicans of Cologne; and finally, against the whole party entertaining similar sentiments with the Dominicans. Reuchlin fought many years alone, while his most intimate friends only upheld him in his stedfastness, by advice and encouragement; and others only bore in their hearts their sympathy with him and his cause. At his desire, the former now came forward for him openly, and endeavoured to attach to themselves the secret partizans. The number was indeed but very small, but the Colognese, to their great vexation, saw it increase with incredible rapidity, while they were unable to restrain the threatening stream.

The cause of the speedy extension and firmness of the confederacy lay partly in the conduct of the lovers of darkness, partly in the tendencies of the times, gradually more and more established. These people, by their insolent imperious conduct, and especially by dispositions, which their whole lives manifested to be iniquitous, had awakened the displeasure of all the better-disposed, who were only hindered from open opposition by the fear of power,

his work, Spongia Erasmi adversus Aspergines Hutteni), for he was then only intent upon annoying Hutten in every way, and representing him as contemptible.

while at the same time the dissatisfaction increased in all minds. Gradually strengthened by the interior progress of truth, men learnt to conquer their fears, and individual voices soon rose against the detestable practices of the monks and priests. Any remarkable external circumstance, in which truth was trodden under foot by these men, became the occasion of a growing and more vigorous opposition; and so here, the audacity and injustice with which the Colognese acted towards so worthy a man, was an especial cause of irritation to those who were intimate with him, and the reason of their immediate union. What must now have confirmed and propagated this alliance was, above all, *similarity of mind*, which was wanting on the part of the lovers of darkness, for the wicked must always be at variance with one another. The desire of truth, though sometimes unconsciously, is yet a sure bond of souls making efforts for mutual improvement. To this many external circumstances contributed, besides a spirited epistolary communication, of which the learned men of that day availed themselves, both to announce and impart their discoveries and opinions quickly to each other, and by writing to supply the place of such oral communication as was not always practicable; this was facilitated by the Latin language having become common to all the learned. Another cause of the speedy extension of this union was, that a very large proportion of the learned world of that time were, directly or indirectly, pupils of Reuchlin or Erasmus; and that these, as they were spread through all ranks, could work in all directions, for among them were theologians, jurists, physicians, artists, statesmen, knights, kings, cardinals, and even here and there monks with their superiors. This confederacy found powerful supporters also in several princes, who were

either liberal-minded, or tried to help this party from jealousy of the hierarchical power of the other. The purpose which united these liberal-minded men, was at first no other than the support and defence of Reuchlin against his haughty daring foes; and this, indeed, was all that Reuchlin then wished or intended; the number of allies was also as small as this view was limited. But it naturally appeared, that those who defended the person of Reuchlin, must also defend his cause; and this led individuals to a more general object, for the foundation of Reuchlin's cause was the contention, whether the truth which he had promulgated, or the corruption which opposed it, should gain the victory. How could it be otherwise, than that this Reuchlin's party, opposed to the pretensions of the monks of Cologne, should lead the opposition both to the general pretensions of the lovers of darkness, and to the growing depravity, originating in superstition, infidelity, ignorance, and above all, in the worldly-mindedness of men? How easy was the transition from the opposing aim of this compact, to a positive requisition of amelioration; activity in the propagation of knowledge must accompany resistance to ignorance; and the promotion of truth must be the result of conflict with pretension, and compulsion of faith and conscience. Thus it is evident, that as the efficiency of the alliance became more general and positive, its influence would proportionably increase, its power be established, and the desired object would come nearer to all hearts.

The gradual rise of this quarrel, and the confederacy whose formation originated from it, also became means to a higher end, which neither Reuchlin nor his friends, nor yet his adversaries, at first perceived, but which was first manifested by the appearance of Luther. It is necessary, before we consider more

minutely the connexion of this confederacy with the Reformation, and its influence, to trace further its organization and efficiency.

As Reuchlin was the uniting bond, and also the first founder of this school, as by his dispute he had occasioned such energetic proceedings, and was still the nucleus of the surrounding warfare, so were two other men at once the most zealous recruiters, regulators, and leaders of the army. Both men, though of different characters, united by an equal ardour for truth, worked, one with courage and fire, the other perfecting his labours by consideration and gentleness; they were Ulrich von Hutten and Bilibald Pirkheimer; both devoted to Reuchlin, partly for his personal qualities and the justice of his cause, partly for his recognized earnest efforts for the enlightenment of his contemporaries.

Here it must appear remarkable that Erasmus, so celebrated a favourer of learning; he who with wit and mockery attacked the monks and their corruptions, should not have more attached himself to the cause and person of Reuchlin, or to the formation of this liberal confederacy. This, however, arose from his character, which was not fitted to adopt with force and perseverance a cause which would probably become burdensome to him, would drag him out of his wonted course, and place him in a camp combined for a self-denying, disinterested warfare against all falsehood. Erasmus played the same part in this precursor of the Reformation as in the Reformation itself: by his literary exertions he was useful to his friends and pupils in both; but he wanted the thorough, earnest, self-denying love of truth, required to support either of them spontaneously. The enquiry, "What might he have done?" and "What did he do?" would give the most accurate standard for judging of him. This excessive love of peace, or rather

of repose, would for ever make him a mediator; he would contrive to avoid the fight required for the conquest over corruption; he writes to both parties, but will not entirely belong to either, or disoblige either. Instead of defending, as he ought to have done, Reuchlin, who laboured in the same field with him, and whom the powerful faction of the monks tried to oppress even in Rome, he did indeed praise him to the pope as the glory and phœnix of Germany, but only among other learned men, that he might not openly declare in his favour before he knew the pope's disposition towards him. Still less candid is his writing to the Cardinals Grimani and George, whom he knew more intimately, in which he only expressed a wish not to separate from the learned, excellent Reuchlin, who fought for truth, and had so many friends [2].

Far differently did Pirkheimer and Hutten write and defend him; the former, who supported Reuchlin until his last years, said in his preface to Lucian, dedicated to Hieronymus Emser: 'As thou formerly didst look upon me as general in the tumult of war, so must thou now consider me as leading the army in the camp of the Reuchlinists; I neither can nor will keep back, but with thee, who art thyself a chief among the Reuchlinist troops, will I abide the combat: we will not only quietly endure the bitings of sycophants, we will despise and laugh at them [3].' Frequently the friends of Reuchlin saluted each other at this period in the words, 'Salve Reuchlinista!' Pirkheimer wrote to the valiant Hutten, when Reuchlin's affair was prolonged in Rome by the mandatum de supersedendo, at which he, as a faithful friend, seemed somewhat anxious [4]: 'You have reason

[2] Erasm. ep. 147. p. 149. ep. 167. p. 141. and ep. 168. p. 144.

[3] Pirkh. op. p. 246.

[4] l. c. p. 24.

to accuse me of timidity, though it is sympathy for the welfare of the best of men; for by long experience I have learnt, that when money speaks, every thing else is silent; but even thou didst fear, for thou wert anxious about this bribery. Let us, therefore, bind ourselves firmly not to forsake the excellent man, but to help him by counsel and action, though we know that many are ruined, even under the shield of innocence.' In a letter to Cardinal Hadrianus, in which he speaks of the commotions excited by the Dominicans, he sets forth eloquently the innocence of Capnion, and the sly, malicious arts of the monks; he shows that it was they who occasioned the most horrible tragedies in Germany, first about Reuchlin, and next about Luther; and how by money and cunning they contrived to obtain protection from Rome [5].

By such participation and defence he drew upon himself hatred and persecution from the lovers of darkness [6]; and afterwards, as Erasmus relates, a confederacy was formed against him also in Rome. Nevertheless, he was not terrified, but exhorted every one to use the best weapons in Reuchlin's just cause, and to extend the league of Reuchlinists. He writes to Erasmus himself: 'I admonish and conjure thee by our friendship, deign not to answer any of these rascals; or if an answer appears to thee necessary, let them receive it from a cook or a stable boy; for if thou shouldest entangle thyself in a quarrel with them, though thou shouldest in fact conquer, yet thou canst derive nothing but disgrace from it; but it will be to thy credit, as it is to every honourable man, to be blamed and persecuted by them [7].'

He took different views as to personal defence and the defence of his friend, for he prefixed to his work,

[5] l. c. pp. 372—374. [6] l. c. pp. 493. and 398.
[7] l. c. p. 492.

Piscat. Luciani, a beautiful apology for Reuchlin, in the form of a dedicatory epistle to Laurentius Beheym, in which he expresses himself strongly, but moderately, and to the point, against this enemy [8]; and observes, that a Christian in resisting the furious may not be furious, for then both would be on the same footing: he says, 'if they utter lewdness I dare not, for I have been instructed in Christian doctrine, I know the Saviour's precept, that we must not return railing to those who rail on us, nor requite evil with evil. It is becoming to bear their injuries, so shall I truly conquer, for it is by no means he who injures, but he who endures, that conquers.' He attributes the assaults of the monks upon Reuchlin to the fear that his literary improvement and truth-loving disposition must be prejudicial to their power and pretensions, nay, were even already so; he, therefore, warmly upholds the pursuit of learning, and proves its undeniable necessity for a theologian. To this he united the personal defence of his friend, by showing his love of truth, his disinterested efforts, and how groundless were the accusations of his foes. Among other things, he says, 'they call me a Reuchlinist, but I am far from unwilling to hear this name; on the contrary, I am heartily glad of it—ay, among all the external things which God's goodness has bestowed on me, there is none I enjoy more than my friendship with Reuchlin and Erasmus; no accident formed or maintains it, but similar literary and religious efforts; men who are not only superior to all by their integrity of thought and action, but also by their intellects gifted with all possible knowledge, the most various languages, the most persuasive elo

[8] It is in H. v. d. Hardt Hist. i. pars. 2. p. 130. The publication of this work was the more appropriate to these people, because Lucian himself wrote this dialogue against his enemies and persecutors.

quence, the clearest discernment and discretion, and are, therefore, revered as heroes who have almost outstepped the ordinary limits of human virtue. Ought one not to delight in their friendship, and to glory in the name of a Reuchlinist [9] ?'

With this man, so zealous for the truth, was allied Ulric von Hutten, the champion of the internal as well as external freedom of Germany, whose talents, which were always exhibited in active stirring vigour, were immeasurably useful in this dispute. His character led him to be, and to do every thing in which he felt himself interested with his whole soul, so that he was unquestionably the most powerful adversary of the monks, and the most zealous Reuchlinist. He first took part openly in the combat of Reuchlin against the lovers of darkness in 1514; when he returned from Italy, he excited and assembled Reuchlin's friends wherever he sojourned; and his restless efforts were doubly serviceable to the confederacy from his wandering life. He drew into the alliance all who either possessed, valued, or promoted learning. He himself described these endeavours in his letters to Pirkheimer, to the Count von Munar, to Julius Pflug, and in the preface to the Triumphus Capnionis. To Julius Pflug he wrote from Augsburg, 'I have made it my business in these days, while I am running about every where, to win every honourable man in the emperor's train to the confederacy of Reuchlinists; but I have also seen, that it was not so necessary to gain friends, for almost all are friends already.' In a letter to Pirkheimer at the same time, he lays down the principle, that it is quite allowable to spread a net for princes to draw them

[9] Here he enumerates a multitude of the learned men of that time as friends to Reuchlin, of whom some are mentioned in the Ep. Obsc. Vir., and in Reuchlin's letters. They will hereafter be more particularly mentioned.

into the good cause, and even to take office under them, to further it; he encourages Pirkheimer, saying, that the side of Reuchlin is quite adopted by the Imperial court, and that his efforts are not altogether fruitless; and expresses to him the true and liberal maxim, that he holds it dishonourable to conceal the truth when oppression follows its acknowledgement.

According to this maxim he must indeed have been very valuable and helpful to the confederacy; so much the more, that he reckoned it an honour to be a member of it; for he wrote to Reuchlin from Bologna in 1517[1]: 'My zeal for thee is sufficiently rewarded by my being able to call myself thy friend, and a Reuchlinist; only be of good courage, the greater part of thy burden rests already on our shoulders, I will continually fan the flame, and I hope it will break out vehemently. Do thou repose while I gather together troops whose age and circumstances fit them for the battle.' What he here promised Reuchlin he actually performed; for besides his laborious personal exertions, he defended the cause of his friend with much earnestness, as for instance in the Triumphus Capnionis[2]. This work, besides its exciting animation, its bold strain, and variety of idea, exhibited a disinterested love of truth, a clear intelligent view of the immoral conduct of the monks, and great acquaintance with all the various forms of superstition and ignorance then existing. The author, who according to almost all

[1] Reuchlin's Brfslg. p. 185.

[2] In the Brfslg. of Reuchlin, 1519, p. 1. it is said, that the principal friends of Reuchlin were led by Eleutherus Byrjenus to believe that he was the author of the Triumphus. This was, however, only a borrowed name; and it is a question, whether it was generally known who was the author, and whether Hutten was.

internal and external evidence, must be Hutten, therein draws the character of Reuchlin's principal opponents with uncommon spirit, relates briefly the history of the tedious dispute, the mean conduct of the monks, and especially the insolent arrogance of Hochstraten, the contemptible part acted by Pfefferkorn, Peter Meyer, Wigand, one of the Ortuins, and Tungarn: then he contrasts Reuchlin with them, paints in glowing colours his innocence, his diligence, enumerates his services and the different branches of his learning, and conducts him as on a splendid triumphal car. This Triumphus had been written in 1515, and for a long while circulated among the Reuchlinists, but as the timid Erasmus always voted against its publication, it was not printed till 1518, when it appeared with a preface to the princes and the German people, in which the author called upon them to rejoice in the victory of truth, of art and science over ignorance. He says, 'these people have indeed set themselves up against Reuchlin at the right time, for just now Germany cannot fail to perceive the greatness of this man, but must exert herself to uphold his honour and renown. So prepare, ye theologians, more than twenty confederates labour for your ruin! I am not the best because I am the first, but I am the first because I burn with impatience; the dungeon is broken open, the die is cast, we may not retreat [3].'

The fiery zeal with which he embraced Reuchlin's cause could not be content with a single defence of him: therefore he wrote his Intercessio pro Capnione ad Card. Hadrianum, and his letter to Hermann count of Nuenar, a friend and comrade introduced to him by Ethelwolf von Stein, and who appears to

[3] This Triumphus is printed in H. v. d. Hardt, l. c. and in Maji Vita Reuchlini, p. 480—507.

have deserved the next place to Hutten in the band of Reuchlinists. The love of knowledge, and a similar desire to diffuse it, first attached him to Reuchlin and his just cause, as well as his wish to extirpate the corrupt monkish spirit which he saw daily increasing around him. His share in the Reuchlinistic compact exposed him to many reproaches on the part of his countrymen, but he resisted them with a firm determined mind, defended Reuchlin like a true friend, and encouraged him by the repeated assurance that when he reposed his friends watched for him, and would defend him from snares; that he must not be intimidated, for he had friends every where, even where his enemies were plotting in their rage. He did not think so much help was needed against a few frogs; but he had already set other engines at work, his cause would now be carried on under the names of the great ones of the world, of whom these wretches were most afraid [4].

Reuchlin called these friends his brave athletæ, who fought against the Lernæan hydra—for truth against falsehood and vice. 'I myself (he writes in a letter of April, 1518 [5],) a veteran, contemplate these victorious youths, and praise them, but do not triumph.' Muenar answered, 'the enterprises of these fellows are never well founded, so they do no harm to any one

[4] Brfslg. p. 150. The dispersion of Reuchlin's letters in various works, and the scarcity of the first collection of them, makes me wish to be able to collect and publish the letters to and from him. I know how many difficulties are connected with the execution of this purpose, but I trust to the kind assistance of those who have the cause of learning at heart. I shall, therefore, receive with much thankfulness any communication and information concerning them; and should be particularly glad of any unprinted letters.

[5] Ep. Trium. illustr. Vir. ad Herm. comit. Munarium ejusd. responsoria una ad Reuchlinum et altera ad lectorem. Cologne, 1518. Also in Herm. v. d. Hardt. l. c. p. 139.

but their authors. Honest men have nothing in common with these puppies, these cunning sycophants, destroyers of antiquity, haters of all elevated learning, who are not ashamed to do any thing that comes into their heads, and who lie more than anybody else could imagine, these Cato Hochstratens and Hercules Artuins. Can this be following the precepts of Christ and his apostles, who say, Avoid strife and anger? Does it become a defender of the faith to act so? Is this the characteristic of a theologian, of a religious man? Can any thing for the confirmation of truth be founded on lies? Are Baal, Belial, and Ashtaroth, to be led to the defence of Christianity? Nothing is sacred to such people but their own desires; truly their impudence goes so far, that they threaten to knock down the pillars of the Church, or to declare them useless if they will not bear their iniquities. They use the Gospel of peace to accuse their neighbours of heresy, &c.'

In these somewhat severe though true charges against the lovers of darkness, Hutten also concurred in his letter to Nuenar[3]; he writes—'If Germany would listen to me, we should now rather fight against this internal evil than against the Turks; why should we wish for the subjugation of the Ottomans, when we tolerate these destroyers of true holiness amongst ourselves, these defilers of Christian purity, who split Christian faith into a thousand fragments, these perpetual originators of fresh disputes and tumults? They have even carried the strife among themselves, and my wish is that it may last, and they may exasperate each other to the utmost. Stand fast, my friend, and arm thyself; thou mayest ever reckon upon me as companion in danger and trouble; meanwhile I will exert myself at the prince's

[3] l. c. p. 117.

court, and endeavour to increase the number of those already favourable to us; for how powerfully does Pirkheimer maintain the cause of his friend, as does Peutinger in Augsburg, and Cuspinian in Vienna; with them are associated the imperial councillors, Jacob de Banisiis, Jacob Spiegel, Joh. Stabius, Wilhelm Copus, Strömer, Buddæus, Faber, &c.' Hutten does not here mention several zealous Reuchlinists with whom he lived in the closest intimacy, because they were known to Nuenar; such as Hermann von Busche, Cabanus Hessus, Nurtianus, and the witty Crotus Rubianus.

Hermann von Busche was the first nobleman in Germany, who, in spite of the contempt he thereby drew upon himself from the nobility of that time, laboured as teacher in the middle and upper schools. The nobility, at that time sunk in ignorance and barbarism, despised arts and sciences, and considered it unworthy of them, and even degrading to possess such talent and cultivation, and thereby to benefit the people. The more intelligent Ulric opposed this folly, exposed their barbarism and (notwithstanding their contempt of the writers, as they called the learned) their jealousy of their superiority. Through Reuchlin's activity, by which a general love of knowledge was diffused in his native country, the nobles also imbibed a taste for intellectual food, and the number of learned knights increased remarkably.

Hermann von Busche, born in 1468, had obtained no little learning at Tubingen and in Italy, and added to it by much travelling. He was personally acquainted with most of the learned men in France, had made them his friends, and through them gained much of the belles lettres. In Cologne, however, neither his patron Hermann von Nuenar, nor his friends, could protect him from the power of Hoch-

straten and his adherents, whom he so undauntedly attacked, that he was obliged to leave the town. He taught with much applause in several of the German universities, and especially in Leipzig, but this was the occasion of his exile. After he had on that account traversed the Netherlands and England in 1517, he joyfully accepted the invitation of Nuenar to come to Cologne and work with him against Hochstraten. But, as might be expected, so zealous a Reuchlinist could not be secure here; and according to a proposition made him, and to Nuenar's advice, he went to Wessel as rector of the schools. Here he read with the greatest eagerness the writings of Luther and Melanchthon; and these especially led him to the study of the Scripture, and Fathers of the Church, by which he was so charmed, that he resigned the office of rector in 1522, and went to Wittemberg to pursue his studies, while in the meantime he gave lectures upon the classics. In 1526 Philip of Hesse appointed him professor of history in his newly-established university of Marburg. In 1533 he was called upon by the government of Nucorster for a learned controversy with the Anabaptists, in which he opposed Bernhard Rothman, but soon after died in 1534, probably in consequence of the violent agitation of mind which the dispute occasioned.

Busche wrote to Reuchlin from Cologne, when the situation of the lovers of darkness became more critical: 'If thou couldest but watch the countenances and manner of the theologians, thou wouldest see in them the most spiteful envy—a living image of idiot folly; they puff out their cheeks, knit their brows, wrinkle their foreheads, and their tragical eyes stare with a certain savageness; they turn red and pale, sigh and gnash their teeth; and wherefore, but for the spleen and wrath which is roused in them[1].'

[1] Brfwlg. p. 168.

Afterwards he wrote to Nuenar [5], that he had read the Apology of Hochstraten, and a more shallow, wretched, or even ungrammatical book he had never perused; in it he spared neither the emperor nor the pope, still less Reuchlin's friends, or Capnion himself. (The whole letter of Busche is an examination of Hochstraten's work.)

To this man one of the most intimate friends of Hutten attached himself, a poet of great celebrity, and a person of much literary cultivation, who helped him much in the defence of truth, viz. Cobanus Hessus, a powerful member of the confederacy of the Anti-obscurantes (anti-lovers of darkness). He wrote to Reuchlin in 1515: 'I owe thee many thanks for thy heroic determined combat with the most terrible enemies of truth and of the general study of literature; the affair will be mentioned when centuries have elapsed, as well as thou thyself, who didst fight alone against such an array of adversaries, and nevertheless wert victor in the battle, not once but many times. I have shown thy letter to some worthy men, who are not only full of thy praises, but likewise call themselves thy friends, and the foes of the other party; and among them thou wilt find, which will surprise thee, some theologians. The majority, indeed, are thy most passionate opponents, yet shalt thou conquer, we shall triumph—the senate of the Latin faculty has decreed thy triumph! Thou hast sung against the devils of Cologne in flaming iambics; but Hutten Burschius, Georgius Spalatin, thy countrymen Bebel and Melanchthon, and many others, will with me sing thy conquest. Meanwhile I will gain over many for thee here in Erfurth, who together with me will so hunt about these scarecrows and monsters that they shall not rest either by

[5] In H. v. d. Hardt, l. c.

land or by sea[6].' As warmly as this truth-loving man maintained the cause of Reuchlin, did he afterwards maintain that of Luther, for this skirmish had suitably prepared him for the greater battle.

What this man effected for Reuchlin in Erfurth, was done with no less, perhaps even with greater zeal in Gotha, by Conrad Mutian, who from the years 1512 and 1513 defended Reuchlin's conduct in letters to his friends, particularly to Urbanus. When the confederacy in favour of Reuchlin first arose, he had already taken pains to gain his friends to this estimable man[7]. Reuchlin thanks him for it in a letter of September, 1513, and mentions among the friends whom Mutian had gained, and who had already promised him their help in writing, Petrejus Aprobachus and Heinrich Urbanus. There also joined the alliance a very important but too timid warrior, who, indeed, rather attacked the rear than presented his breast to the tumult of war, Crotus Rubianus, a man of remarkable learning. He wrote to Reuchlin[8]: 'The theologists have indeed apostatized from theology, since they wish to thrust thee violently out of the Christian Church—thee, chief defender of truth, noblest of theologians; but if God wills it otherwise, they *may* write and rail, and heap thesis on thesis. If these sloths did but know how the learned laugh at them! If thou dost but wish for it, thou hast no lack of help in written defence, thou hast all Mutian's party, including philosophers,

[6] Brfslg. p. 172.

[7] In a letter to Petrejus Aprobachius in Tenzelii Suppl. ad Sagittarii Hist. Goth. vol. i. (contained in a collection of Mutian's letters to his contemporaries), p. 138, he says: 'Suevi λογοδαιδαλαι sacram ornant cohortem. Biel barbaros delectat; Bebel cantoribus placet, Reuchlinus doctoribus est admirationi.'

[8] Brfslg. p. 177.

poets, orators, theologians, all devoted to thee, and ready to fight for thee: only command, and we arm whenever thou wilt.' Johann Huttichius said the same: among other things he wrote thus: 'Many princes take thy part, for they honour thee as the father of Greek and Hebrew literature; to the number belong our excellent Bishop of Strasburg, the Elector of Bavaria, together with their courtiers, and a great army of knights [9].'

The imperial councillor, Jacob de Banisiis, was an active and influential Reuchlinist; he was in high favour with the emperor, and for several years had been his guide and friend; a man of liberal spirit, who contrived to incline the emperor and the court favourably not only towards Reuchlin but also to Luther.

His old friend Vadian too, laboured with this man in counsel and deed; he wrote from Vienna to Reuchlin in 1516 [1], that he rejoiced much at the report that he must be victorious over those enemies; for it must be universally acknowledged, that all the learned of future ages are under infinite obligation to him; and he also would for this exalt his fame, defend him, and celebrate him in a projected work, De Poetica.

As Jacob de Banisiis worked at the imperial court, so did Heinrich Stromer [2] at the court of Albert of Mentz, both generally for a more liberal spirit, and for the Reuchlinist confederacy. He declares his love and respect for Reuchlin in a beautiful letter, in which he calls him the sole monument of German grandeur, whose vexations Germany justly lamented, since good-for-nothing men tried to disgrace his reverend age and fair fame; but moderation and a dispassionate mind were especially necessary here; to which he exhorted him, since God the righteous

[9] Brfslg. p. 216. [1] Brfslg. p. 100. [2] Brfslg. p. 183.

Judge would so order every thing, that injustice should be put to shame. He continues: 'I for my part, will willingly undergo any trouble, wherever I can protect thee against, and deliver thee from these outrages; for indeed no greater blessing can be bestowed on me than that I should defend thine honour with the utmost care.'

Jacob Spiegel, from Schlettstadt in Alsace, a pupil of the famous lawyer Zasius, and friend of the energetic Reuchlinists, Conrad Peutinger, and Erasmus, took a similar part. The Emperor Charles V. afterwards elected him imperial councillor for the sake of his merits. He was a pupil of Reuchlin's, whose works he read with much diligence, and in concert with Jac. de Banisiis, worked for Reuchlin and his cause at the imperial court. Though he did not openly participate in the Reformation, he tried to promote it secretly.

There remains to be mentioned among the leaders for Reuchlin, George Spalatin, who exercised great influence in the Reformation. Before the quarrel with the Colognese broke out, he had been in friendly epistolary intercourse with Reuchlin, for whom he had taken especial pains to win over the Elector. He was a zealous promoter of a liberal spirit, and not only loved Reuchlin personally, but respected him for his extensive learning, and his warm interest in religion.

Among the firmest friends of Reuchlin, was also the man to whom Germany owes her intellectual liberty and independence of the slavish laws of the Pope, Martin Luther, who wrote thus to George Spalatin[3]; 'brother Johann Lange requires from me, in thy name, an opinion upon the suit of the inno-

[3] De Wette Luther's Brfslg. 1st part, third letter, and following.

cent and learned Reuchlin, against his enviers of Cologne; and asks if there is here any heresy or peril to the faith. But thou knowest, dear Spalatin, that I so thoroughly and warmly love this man, that my judgement may easily be partial, because I cannot be considered free and neutral; but thou dost request, and what I think, I tell thee; throughout Reuchlin's Augenspiegel there appears to me nothing dangerous, and I consider his faith as pure and unimpeachable. If, however, such protestations and sentiments are not free from danger, we have to fear that these inquisitors will swallow camels, and strain at gnats, and clamour against true faith as heresy, though everything should bear witness for it. I trust in God who is true, in spite of a thousand drivelling Colognese.' Afterwards, in (1514), he wrote to the same friend, expressing his displeasure at the mean insults of which Ortuin suffered himself to be guilty towards Reuchlin, in his Prænotamentis; 'this Ortuin heaps up absurd and contradictory things in a most silly, and yet in truth a most lamentable manner, because he slanders the words and the mind of the innocent Capnion with the utmost insolence; and also, because he diligently increases his own condemnation by his blind obstinate heart.' Another time [4], when the monks had given out that he had been urged by the Elector to the combat about indulgences, he says, 'I am content that the Elector should send me to a disputation, or before a tribunal, but not that they should draw the guiltless prince into the odium with me; but my friend, thou mayest in this recognize this monstrous race, the lovers of darkness, who are enemies of light; they have hunted out Joh. Reuchlin through three

[4] De Wette Brfslg. fifty-fourth letter to Spalatin, of the year 1518.

provinces, and dragged him forth against his will; but although I invite and challenge them at their own doors, they chatter and disparage me in corners, because they see they cannot defend themselves.'

There remain yet a great many of Reuchlin's friends, devoted to efforts for more liberal mental cultivation, and rejection of the claims of the arrogant monks and priests, in various countries: to exhibit the share and influence of each in the confederacy would carry us too far; therefore, that we may be able to give a more correct general view of the principal Reuchlinists, we will endeavour to bring them under a certain arrangement, according to their different nations; and in Germany, according to their different towns [5]. This will be especially useful, to enable us in some measure to determine where, and among what people, the reformation was advanced, and did in fact find souls most ready to receive it. And first, as regards

Stuttgard—here the number was of course very great through Reuchlin's activity. Duke Ulrich, with his whole court, and the mentally cultivated there, belonged to the number of his adherents and admirers.

In Tübingen—Melanchthon and Simler were most effective, both pupils of Reuchlin; the latter published and commented on many works of Reuchlin's; the learned Bebel, Brassicanus, Vereander, Hildebrand, and certainly many others whom I cannot mention by name.

Heidelberg—Martin Bucer and Lupf, prior of the Augustinian monastery.

Ingoldstadt—Philomusus, and at first Eck (see below).

Regensburg—The Provost, Bernhard Welser.

[5] Brfslg. where the principal Reuchlinists are pointed out. Then Meiners, l. c. p. 155, where the list is completed.

Echstadt—The provost of the cathedral, Bernhard Adelman von Adelmamssfelden, who also lived in Augsburg, and his brother Conrad.

Augsburg—Conrad Peutinger, Ulrich, Count of Helfenstein, Jacob de Banisiis, dean of Trent; provost Georg Gross., provost Johann von Wrisberg.

Strasbourg and other towns in Alsace—Brant, Beatus Rhenanus, at Schlettstadt; and in the same place, Wimpheling, Kircher Sapidus, Wolfgang, Augst, Jacob Sturm, Lucas Batodius, Johann Ruserus, Jacob Spiegel.

Vienna—Joachim Vadianus, Cuspinianis, Georg Collimitius, Nicolaus Gerbelius.

Spires—The Dean, Thomas Truchsess, and many others (see the process).

Nuremberg—Bilibald Pirkheimer, Lazarus Spengler, Michael von Caden; Provost, Georg Behemn, Martinus Reus, Wolfgang Volprecht, the Augustine prior; Hieronymus Ebner, teacher of jurisprudence; Christian Scheurl, advocate; Melchior Pfintzing, Wenceslaus Link, Thomas Venatorius.

Bamberg—The capitularies, Andreas Fuchs, and his brother, Jacobus Fuchs, who probably had a share in the Ep. Obs. Vir.; Laurentius Behem.

Würzburg—Dr. Johann Reus.

Mentz—Almost the whole court, the principals of the university and chapter, Heinrich Stromer, Joh. Huttichius, Conrad Weidmann, Nicolaus Corbachius, professor of ancient literature; Joh. Königstein, Eucharius, Heinrich Bruman, Otto and Philipp von Bock.

Zürich and its neighbourhood—Heinrich von Bullinger, who wrote an invective against Pfefferkorn, no longer extant.

Basle—Amerbach, Erasmus, Œcolampadius, Capito.

Rufach—Conrad Pellican.

Cologne—Hermann v. Nuenar, Joh. Cäsarius, who distinguished himself by his knowledge of Greek; Hermann Buschius, Dr. Sesseler, the Provost Potken, Heinrich Glareanus, the youthful, crowned poet, Helvetius; Franz Strufz, and many more.

In Upper and Lower Wesel—Joh. Capellarius, Heinrich Monoceros.

Zwoll—Listrius.

Frankfort on the Oder—Hermann Trebellius, and both the Astens.

Erfurth—Joh. Camerarius, Eurigius Cordus, Crotus Rubianus, Cobanus Hessus, the lawyer Hartmann, Joh. Lange, prior of the Augustine monastery; Urbanus, Petrijus Aprobachus.

Gotha—Mutian.

Naumberg—Julius von Pflug.

In Saxony generally, many friends of Spalatin, Luther, Carlstadt.

Leipzig—Petrus Mosellanus, and Crocus, formerly in England.

Dresden—Hieronymus Emser.

Freiburg—Joh. Reyst, Carthusian prior; Ulrich Zasius. Also many German knights, as Ethelwolf von Stein, who, however, did not outlive the Reformation; Joh. Hutten, Franz von Sickingen, Hartmuth von Kronenburg, whose ardour for the Reformation is abundantly manifest in those few words of his, 'I would willingly be cut in pieces, if I could only by it advance the Gospel in Germany.'

In Italy, the most powerful cardinals and prelates, as Cardinal Grimani, George Benigni, Peter Bembo, Anconitani, Questemberg, Poggius, Ægidius Viterbiensis, Paulus Gereander, Philippus Beroaldus, jun., Petrus Galatinus, Sebastian Sperantius, in Brescia; Wolfgang de Tannberg, in Padua; Joh. Franc, Pico von Mirandola. During the process; Martin Gröning, and Joh. v. d. Wick.

In France—Faber, Budaeus, and many others.

In England—Joh. Coletus, Dean of the Cathedra. in London; the theologians, William Crocyn, and Latimer; The King's Physician, Thomas Linacrus; The jurists, Colbert Dunstan, Thomas More, in London; and Andreas Ammonius [6].

The combats of this confederacy in writing, against the lovers of darkness, appeared in the most various forms, differing according to the peculiarities of each person; sometimes in satires, or more serious attacks upon the whole body of Obscurantes; sometimes against individuals; sometimes in defence of truth and her partizans. But none of these works obtained so much attention, because none contained so striking a portraiture of the whole life and conduct of these Obscurantes, none gave so correct a description of the character of these people, none sported so gracefully, although in a foreign imitated style, as the Epistolæ Obscur. Virorum, which appeared in 1516. The ignorance and immoralities of the monks were represented in so natural and lively a manner, and in every form in which they exhibited themselves, that apart from the knowledge to be obtained from them of the corruptions of those times, and of members of the Church, one is involuntarily attracted from reading one letter to the others. One sees most amusingly the conduct of monks at the universities, whether as teachers or learners; in some, the pedantic gravity by which they sought to compel respect in spite of their ignorance; in others, the cringing hypocrisy which was to procure

[6] Besides these, Pirkheimer in his defence of Reuchlin names, Michael Hummelius von Ravensberg, Kilian Leyl, Prior of Rebdorf; Johann Macheisen, Gregorius Nurffel, provincial of the Carmelites; Joh. Speiserius, Paulus Pfrygio, Johann Corleus, Thomas Murner, Theodoricus Gobel, Johann Fug, Benedictus Chelydonius, Johann Bernerus, Johann Hanerus, and others of less note.

them dignities; in the teachers, the fog which they spread around them by bombast of apparent learning, that the pupils might be too much in the dark to see the clouds. Here an M. A. appears in the scholastic territory, rummages with an important air, produces a pompous question, and flourishes away in barbarous Latin; there, one brother begs another to lend him a hand by counsel and deed, in palliating his immoralities, or rather in facilitating and promoting them.

This striking representation of the language and conduct of the monks, added to the exposure of their detestable insolence in the Reuchlinist controversy; the free satirical description of the corrupt state of the priesthood of all ranks, occasioned an incredible commotion wherever these letters were read. Among the Reuchlinists resounded a loud shout of triumph; those who had hitherto been neutral, now took a more active part in the cause of learning; but their reception by the monks was the most remarkable. The letters were almost all addressed to one man, Ortuinus Gratius, one of the giants of the band of Obscurantes, who, without coming forward openly, stirred up the fire, and under the name of Pfefferkorn, as people at that time generally believed, composed the most abominable tracts against Reuchlin. When these letters appeared, the style of the monks was so capitally imitated in them, that, as Erasmus and More relate, a great many monks in England and the Netherlands took them for genuine, and recommended that they should be read, until they were awakened from their dream by the outcry of the ridiculed Colognese, and their hatred was exasperated in proportion to the deceit[7]. The monks now hastened

[7] There is, however, much that is improbable in this communication of Thomas More to Erasmus, and still more in the

to defend themselves, and soon succeeded in obtaining by money and good words, a brief in condemnation of the Ep. Obs. Vir.[8] If these prohibited Ep. Obs. Vir. were live coals, a second part in 1517, which Pirkheimer proposed to call Ep. Clarorum Virorum, was a flaming fire; for the wit in it was not only more easy and pointed than in the first part, but also kept up with more animation and propriety; and the deeper it was, the more sensible was the smart. Indeed, the authors, in order to make their satire very pungent, and the monks very hateful, suffered themselves to be often led into deviations from truth. A third part, which came out later, was far below the first.

Still more vexatious was it to the monks, that seeing these letters had false names of the place of publication and the publisher, (Venedig bei Aldus Minutius, being annexed to the advertisement of a papal privilege of copyright for ten years,) they could never find out the author or authors, as they were then not without reason supposed to be; for the whole thing was kept secret[9], on account of the personalities and public accusations, so that most of the Reuchlinists, even, knew nothing certain upon the subject. Hutten, Pirkheimer, Erasmus, and Reuchlin himself were guessed at, but it was soon seen that they were mistaken in the latter. Erasmus in several places exculpates himself; when he observed that he was suspected, although he had formerly re-

story of Erasmus, that the monks believed that the Ep. Obs. Vir. were written in their defence against Reuchlin, and so forth.

[8] It is in the Lamentat. Obsc. Vir., and in the edition published in London, in 1619, of the Ep. Obsc. Vir. p. 562, in which the Lament. are included.

[9] Luther judged about it, as about the 'Supplicatio contra Theologastros: votum ejus (of the author) probo, sed opus non probo, quod nec a conviciis et contumeliis sibi temperat.'

joiced at these letters, and had even committed one to memory; he now showed displeasure at them, and wished them to be immediately suppressed[1]. That Reuchlin was not the author, as was formerly believed, and in which opinion, Paul Jovius, Majus, Naude, and Gehres, concurred, we must here try to prove more strictly. In the Lamentationes Obs. Vir. there is a letter from Reuchlin to a certain Pelzflicker, which though invented by his adversaries, contradicts any participation of Reuchlin in them; so that, throughout, his adversaries did not fix on Reuchlin; at any rate, they would not have hesitated to proclaim such a guess, because it might have been serviceable to them, that the Pope should suspect and hate Reuchlin as the author of a book, which must be a thorn to the popedom. Neither did the conjectures of the Reuchlinists, who were no better-informed on the subject, ever glance on Reuchlin, but on the contrary, at several of his friends. Reuchlin did not even know, when the first part of the letters was already out, what a scourge was prepared for his enemies. These external proofs are confirmed by interior ones, for it can hardly be supposed that an old man like Reuchlin should have written with such power, and such youthful fire, as is everywhere apparent in the letters. Besides, it is not easy to reconcile the earnest mind of Reuchlin, ever opposed to frivolity and indecency, with laughable, and often indecorous trifling, such as is very remote from the style of his other works. In short, we may add, that there is scarcely any resemblance to his manner of writing to be found, either in the style, or in single turns or expressions of these letters; and further,

[1] See his letter to Cäsarius, who was included by the monks in the Lament. in order, probably, to represent Erasmus as of the same mind with themselves.

that the modest Reuchlin would never have spoken of himself in the manner which appears here. It is well-known, that the counsellor of the consistory, Monicke, has proved, that the first part of the Ep. was not printed in Cologne, but in Hagenau, by Angst; and that Wolfgang Angst composed one of them, but that he was the sole author of the first part can hardly be concluded from his letter to Erasmus; it is probable, that Crotus Rubianus had already a hand in it; but that no one person composed the first part appears to me evident, from a comparison of the letters, which bear a two-fold character. However, all tends to show that Hutten had no share in the first part, but a considerable one in the second. In many letters of the latter, one may observe much similarity in the descriptions of character, and the repetition of certain forms and expressions with the Triumphus Capnionis, and other writings of Hutten; to particularise them here, would lead us too far out of our province. As also, the easily perceptible differences between several of the letters, lead to the opinion that this second part had various authors; and that, besides Hutten, they were written by Hermann von Busche, Crotus Rubianus, Pirkheimer, probably also, Cobanus Hessus, Cäsarius, Angst, Jacob Fuchs, Rhagius Aesticampianus, and even by Franz von Sickingen, as Dr. Ernst Münch has shown to be probable, in the life of Sickingen.

The mendicants did not let their pens rest, but there appeared at Cologne, in 1518, an antidote to the Ep. Obsc. Vir. under the title, 'Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum,' which, however, were so diluted by insipidity, that they were only considered as a forced unsuccessful attempt; indeed, it could be no other, for they had no real corruptions to assault in their adversaries. Several took part in the composition of this book also, to judge from the evident

variety in it. Pfefferkorn, too, endeavoured to rescue his own honour, and that of his friends, attacked in the Ep. Obs. Vir. by new writings [2].

What relates to the consequences of this dispute, and its influence on the Reformation, we have already seen; men of all ranks and nations laboured in their narrow circles, for the extension of a liberal spirit, and God bound together all these individuals into a powerful firm mass by a single man, perfectly fitted for the purpose. Many other favourable circumstances promoted this union, and soon the whole of civilised Europe was divided into two parties; first, the liberal-minded, in which were included all who loved and pursued knowledge, or were dissatisfied with the oppression of the priests and monks, or in short, all who worked for the Gospel on a small scale; secondly, those named Obscurantes by the first party, to whom belonged most orders of monks and priests, and above all, those devoted to popery. In every university, in every large town, was seen the strife of these two parties, one of whom as perpetually feared the result, as the other hoped for the

[2] Streydt Puchlyn vor dy Warheit und einer warhafftigen Historie Johannis Pfefferkorn vechtende wider den falschen Broder Johann Reuchlin und syne Jungern Obscurorum Virorum, die vormals verstolen wider mich und noch viel mer wider die heylig Kyrch und wider vil erbar Menner ausgegossen haben ein unchristlich, ketzerlich, unwarhafftig unendlich Schmach Schrift, 1516, in Latin, Defensio Joh. Pipericorni contra famosas et criminales Obscurorum Vir. Ep. lib. vii. sine loco, and the work, Ein mitleidliche Clag an unsern allergnädigsten Kayser und ganze deutsche Nation durch Joh. Pfefferkorn wider Joh. Reuchlin, und wider seinen falschen Rathschlag, fürmals fur die treulose Juden unchristlich ausgegossen, 1521, 4to, 8vo.

Panzer Annalen der deutschen Literatur, upon the writings of Pfefferkorn.

This Pfefferkorn was superintendent of a hospital; he was still living in 1521.

best. What the Obscurantes dreaded was the loss of their dominion, their riches; and as it was to keep outward goods that they strove, they naturally used outward means. Since, however, union is only possible in truth, it was not to be attained in their various external means of maintaining themselves. Often, by the most powerful expedients, which were all intended for some exterior immoral purpose, they did the utmost mischief, and destroyed their united efficiency. It was quite different with the other party. They, though their object was one which gradually developed itself, had begun in truth, and were thereby laid under the necessity of going forward; the more pure, therefore, was the general aim, the greater was its power and influence on mankind. Hence, the first and most important result of this conflict as to the Reformation, was the uniting of the liberal-minded into one body, which collected all the separate and various powers. It was natural that this compact force should not remain inactive, but that the individuals should labour in different ways for a common end; in the first place, against the dominion exercised over them, which extended not only over the exterior but also to the interior, the conscience of mankind; this was the struggle for liberty. In this, the efforts differed according to the different views of men; some endeavoured to emancipate themselves from outward bondage, as did many princes and great men; others, penetrating deeper, who saw that with the overthrow of tyranny over conscience, that which was external would also fall, only attempted to fight for the former. However, in order to accomplish the complete destruction of this authority, several methods were adopted; by a higher cultivation of the people, men sought to make them sensible of the oppression they suffered, to encourage the discontent which arose here and

there, and make it more general; and to raise the grovelling minds by instruction. All the establishments for education, both upper and lower, were therefore improved, as well as the system of teaching, and served to awaken more taste and inclination for literary cultivation in the higher classes [3]. These efforts at reformation, whose first aim was freedom, emanating from an earnest desire for truth, could and would necessarily attain more by the union of all individuals, than where they appeared singly; the activity of each person being directed to the point most suited to him. When minds had been thus aroused by the contending parties, and so led to a clear perception of their position, and awakened from the slumbers which had enchained them, they felt the void in their interior life and existence, and everywhere manifested a longing for the missing truth, they began to seek it, and found that a path presented itself in literary cultivation; this they gladly took, hoping to gain by it knowledge of truth. But besides that, this improvement in learning could not be communicated to the populace, it left the soul dead, as a sense of religion was what they really wanted, and what was necessary to form them. There were, indeed, some great men who knew how to place learning in its true position, as Reuchlin did; however, this sentiment was but little diffused, though it shone so clearly in these individuals, it was nevertheless a most important preparation for the higher views which were soon to appear. From these profounder ideas of single persons, upon a correct estimate of the relation of the improvement of learning to that of religion, which the Reuchlinists tried to disseminate, and from the Christianity which was working here and there in the minds of individuals, arose the oppo-

[3] See above on the education of the nobles of those days.

sition to immorality, which had more or less force in proportion as truth was its foundation. It fell upon the monks and priests first, and hardest; for they, instead of raising the people out of the filth of their iniquities, and imparting truth as they were enjoined to do in the Holy Scriptures, found their own advantage in the ignorance of the people, and kept them in it by entirely withdrawing the Bible, while they themselves gave the most unchristian examples. The Reuchlinists, therefore, tried to expose thoroughly the vices of these men, to make them quite contemptible, and succeeded in this purpose to the full extent of their wishes. Everywhere men rejoiced at this conduct of the Reuchlinists, and desired nothing more earnestly than that the cause of truth might be victorious.

Although the gradual reformation, which had already begun with the increasing corruption, was now working most openly; the alliance neither intended nor foresaw any other than a gradual change, and according to this idea formed in their minds, and established on various reasons, we must judge of their participation in the Reformation, which immediately after rapidly developed itself. That is, there were some among the Reuchlinists who considered a sudden reformation as a revolution, and who had no idea of being obliged to step beyond the existing structure of society, who considered a visible head of the Church hallowed by a long course of time, as necessary for the maintenance of the whole ecclesiastical system, and desired only a gradual purification of the present arrangement. They might, indeed, have been convinced by further reflection and experience, that such a reformation which did not heal the evil from the bottom, and give the mind a new direction, would be but transient in its effects; and while it deprived wickedness of its present support,

would not hinder its rising again; for wherever men restrain vice on one side, without presenting truth for its utter extirpation, it breaks out under a different form at some other point. History also establishes the fact, that whenever reformation was not energetic and complete, it always yielded to corruption, and the voices in its favour were again silenced by time. With these was joined in the same purpose of reformation another party, who, although only a gradual change appeared possible to them, yet desired it should take place in the head and the members, and more speedily and forcibly than the others did. In this party again, there were individuals of more enlarged views, who even acknowledged the necessity of a change in the whole state and existing regulations, but could not, see clearly the manner or the time in which it would happen. They did, indeed, prophesy a coming rapid change, and recognized in themselves its preparatory instruments, but did not imagine they had approached it so closely. This second party of Reuchlinists, which was unquestionably the greatest, naturally comprehended the most zealous promoters of the Reformation by Luther and Zwingle, while the first party, of which Erasmus and Nuenar were heads, did not know which way to turn, since the Protestants appeared to them revolutionists. Wisely had the providence of God ordered, that the two parties of Reuchlinists should remain united, and fight together to break the power of the lovers of darkness, and draw the threatening storm upon themselves, that so these people might appear not invincible, and others might be animated with courage to combat them, that the impending greater work might have less to oppose, and might more easily be victorious.

To this negative influence of the Reuchlinist con-

federacy is to be added the more positive one, that in its leaders the Reformation not only found ready instruments, but also that they had prepared the nation for the reception of truth, which truth was itself imparted through their means. The lovers of darkness soon perceived how intimately connected this confederacy was with the Reformation, and how influential; for Hochstraten with reason drew the attention of Pope Leo to this,—that the cause of Capnion was closely allied to that of Luther—nay, even that it was the origin of Luther's affair [4]. Luther himself recognized in Reuchlin's proceedings the commencement of his own; in him, the instrument of God, the power on which the horns of the others were to be broken, in whom Germany had begun to recover, and in himself the succeeding champion of Reuchlin's battle [5]. The latter expressed himself on Luther's vehement onset, something to this effect: 'Thank God, now they have found a champion who will give them such tough work that they will let the old man depart in peace.'

After this glance at the times preceding the Reformation, and their effects on it, we return to the biography of Reuchlin.

The enemies of Reuchlin, since they could no longer find any means of injuring him personally, for they had too great a rampart to surmount before they could get at him, tried another way to deprive him at least of outward repose. They found an opportunity for this in the enmity of Duke Ulrich to the family of the Huttens, and especially to Ulric von Hutten. Duke Ulrich von Wirtemberg had with his own hand

[4] In his letter of dedication to the work, 'Destructio Cabalæ seu Cabalistæ perfidiæ,' &c. 1519.

[5] We have translated the letter in which Luther thus acknowledges Reuchlin's merits, in the introduction to this work.

(in 1515) murdered a near relation of Ulric von Hutten, Johann von Hutten, because the latter, who had formerly been a favourite, would not submit to the vicious purposes of the duke with regard to his wife. His whole family, and above all Ulric von Hutten, was exasperated at this infamous deed, which drew down upon the duke general hatred and contempt. Many considerable statesmen left his service, and the whole chivalry of Germany offered their services to the father of the murdered man, if he wished to wage war upon Ulrich von Wirtemberg. Ulrich von Hutten, excited by sympathy for his cousin, and by justice, as well as by the wickedness and piratical act of the duke, wrote five accusations against him [6], in which he declares perpetual war and hatred. The connexion of Reuchlin with Hutten, the warm defence of Reuchlin by the latter, and his exertions for the confederacy, put it into the power of the enemies of the worthy old man to calumniate him with his prince, as being in alliance with the prince's foes. Although Hutten had been so prudent, that during this time he had only greeted Reuchlin through his friends, and received intelligence from him in the same way, in order that he should not be suspected on account of this connexion, yet Reuchlin's enemies contrived to make the prince distrust him.

At this time Franz von Sickingen, who had in 1517 pledged his knightly word to serve against Duke Ulrich, levied troops in his territories for that purpose; the duke hastened to avert the threatened blow, and to form alliances with neighbouring princes. The emperor endeavoured to destroy these, although the states of Wirtemberg tried, but not very heartily, to dissuade the emperor, and to excuse their prince. Sickingen continued to advance, while Ulrich in the

[6] Münch, Oper. Hutteni, 2 vols.

beginning of the year 1519 assaulted the free town of Reutlingen (a most inconsiderate step), because some of its citizens had killed his castellan at Achalm. This unjustifiable conduct towards a free imperial city caused the Suabian league, to which this town belonged, and which considered itself injured, to rise against the duke. The army was commanded by both the Dukes of Bavaria, brothers of Ulrich's wife, and by Franz von Sickingen, and Georg von Freundsberg, as field-marshals. As soon as ever Ulrich von Hutten received intelligence of the preparations against his enemy, he hastened to his friend Sickingen that he might take part in the war.

The allied army succeeded in taking Stuttgart[7], and even threatened to sack the town: Reuchlin, naturally timid, was no little anxious about his life and his possessions, though quite unnecessarily, for Ulrich von Hutten had long before pointed out to Franz von Sickingen the danger of Reuchlin, and the latter, mindful of his beloved instructor[8], at the entrance of the army into the town, proclaimed that no one must venture to molest Reuchlin, who was under the especial protection of the chiefs of the League. He went himself to meet his tutor, embraced him warmly, bade him be of good courage, and promised him that he would himself settle his affair with the monks[9]. Even the princi-

[7] Münch in his life of Sickingen says Tübingen.

[8] Reuchlin and Geiler von Kaisersberg had been intimate friends of his father, Schweikart; and the former, at the father's earnest request, had instructed Franz von Sickingen, about the year 1495.

[9] Hutten wrote thus from the camp of Esslingen (see Münch, Op. Hutt. vol. iii. p. 153.): 'Capnionem salutavi paucos ante dies, penum confectum solicitudine; ita timebat ea, quæ bello possunt etiam immerentibus evenire. Sed nobis consilium non defuerat, quo illi prospiceremus. Quo in negotio Franciscum habui, ex voto honorem habuit et ipse docto viro,

pal leader of the allied army, Duke William of Bavaria, treated the learned man with peculiar respect, and asked his advice in many regulations in his country which related to literature [1].

Reuchlin, though quieted for a time by the fortunate turn of the war, was soon again alarmed at the siege of Stuttgart by the duke on the 14th of August; for the more he had rejoiced in the distinction he received from the allied army and its leaders, the more cause had he to fear the duke. He, therefore, exhorted many friends in Stuttgart to a general flight, yet he allowed them to retire alone to Esslingen, and stayed in Stuttgard lest he should lose his goods, hoping to preserve them by his presence. But he deceived himself, for the duke deprived him of them, sent the families of the other fugitives after them, but retained their wealth, and dealt very harshly with Reuchlin [2].

As to Reuchlin's conduct in this affair, he was with reason suspected by many inhabitants of Stuttgart of forsaking these friends, though he had been the occasion of their flight. Erasmus relates this to the Bishop of Rochester, and assures him that he learnt it from a credible man. In the quarrel with Hutten (Spongia Erasmi) this matter was mentioned also.

Reuchlin was once more released from this position by the victorious allied army, who completely drove Duke Ulrich out of his states, and delivered them up

necessitque obviam, humaniter complectens ac bene sperare jubens.' See also, l. c. vol. iii. p. 202.

[1] See Henmann's Act. Lit. p. 101, comm. isag., in which is a letter from Stromer to Pirkheimer from the camp at Herrenberg, on the 15th of April, 1519, in which he says: 'Capnioni tuo literas præsentabo, a quo nisi principis Wilhelmi negotiis intercipiatur (consiliarius enim dilectus est) responsum habebis.'

[2] Pirk. op. p. 259.

to the Emperor Charles V. The leaders of the army on entering again protected the old man; and as the citizens whom he had persuaded to fly had now returned, and reproached him with his faithlessness, the generals tried to remove him safely out of Stuttgart.

Duke William had shown himself very friendly towards the old man; for when on the second entry the town was to be plundered, he begged Reuchlin's house as his share, whereby he saved his goods from destruction [3]. It was he also who advised Reuchlin to withdraw from the tumults of war, and go meanwhile to his town of Ingoldstadt, to which Reuchlin consented. He went away in November, 1519, in a great hurry, so that he could not take with him half his books, which he afterwards greatly lamented in Ingoldstadt. He previously announced his departure to Pirkheimer [4]; he writes: 'there prevails among us avenging punishment, jealousy, oppression of the good, and in addition, hunger and the sword; therefore I am going to Ingoldstadt to live with the learned, and to pass the winter there until the state of affairs alters.' In Ingoldstadt [5] he dwelt in the house of Dr. Eck, who chose to be reckoned among the Reuchlinists, to whom all the learned of that day thought they must belong, that they might not be numbered among the illiterate; and he did not neglect the good opportunity of increasing his acquaintance with the Hebrew and Greek languages by Reuchlin's help. Reuchlin lived here as a private man, but as it appears, not in the most comfortable circumstances, which he felt the more, because in Stuttgard he had led an easy life, free from all cares of maintenance. Taken out of the circle of his

[3] Pirk. op. p. 263.
[4] l. c. p. 263. The letter is of Sept. 6, 1519.
[5] Where he was matriculated on the 21st of November.

friends, in a completely strange neighbourhood, and at an advanced age, which of itself unfitted him for making new connexions, he was very naturally not happy in Ingoldstadt. He complained of this to Pirkheimer, who now, as formerly, like a true friend, took an interest in him, and to whom at this time he very frequently wrote; for letter-writing and playing the guitar were his expedients for chasing away discontent[6]. Reuchlin, who wanted money, was obliged to send Pirkheimer two of his precious ancient gold coins to be exchanged, though most unwillingly, for shortly after he expected the repayment of some money he had lent. Pirkheimer, however, sent him back his gold pieces, and lent him money, which he repaid some time after with the sum which the monks of Cologne were obliged to send him.

Franz von Sickingen, according to his promise to Reuchlin in Stuttgart, had taken measures to conclude his process. He sent a threatening letter to the monks of Cologne, the contents of which were, that if they did not indemnify Reuchlin for the cost of the lawsuit, and make a compensation and apology, he would wage war upon Cologne, and the whole province. The monks, who knew the firmness, the power, and the energy of Sickingen, were much intimidated by this, for there remained only the choice between humiliation and war. Their pride was opposed to the first, and their terror to the second; so they tried to adopt a middle course, and in the beginning of 1520 they sent two plenipotentiaries from the provincial of Cologne with commendatory

[6] The letter to Pirkheimer is of the 12th of January, 1529, (for the date 1519 is a mistake of the printer, for Reuchlin was not then in Ingoldstadt). Reuchlin's letters to Pirkheimer, which succeed each other in this work, are the materials for the biography of Reuchlin at this period.

[7] The letter is in Münch's Life of Sickingen, p. 125.

letters to Reuchlin to bring about a reconciliation with him. Even in the dilemma, in which they were evidently placed, they sought to impose degrading conditions of peace upon Reuchlin, to which, of course, he could then be little disposed to accede [8]. He, therefore, referred them to the knight himself, whom he had chosen procurator in this matter with unlimited authority; if they wished to make peace they might negotiate with him alone. The monks, in order to have another way of escaping from the hand of the knight, in case this middle course should not prosper, had by all manner of intrigues endeavoured to procure another judge, the Cardinal Dominicus de Jacobutiis, instead of Grimani, since Sickingen had appealed to the decision in Rome, and they now threatened Reuchlin, on his reference to Sickingen, with resuming the process in Rome, and complaining of the invalidity of the sentence at Spires. Reuchlin communicated these intrigues to the knight, who gave them such a short time, that they were compelled to conclude an agreement quickly, to prevent war. So Reuchlin received his costs, and the Colognese contrived to end the process at Rome.

Reuchlin's delight on this occasion was further increased by Prince William of Bavaria requesting him in the most complimentary way to give lectures in Ingoldstadt upon the Greek and Hebrew languages, and conferring on him an income of two hundred golden crowns. Although it had been his intention to return into his native country, he accepted this honourable employment, was introduced by a discourse from Johann Gussubelius, and began his lectures on the 5th of March, 1520. The concourse to them was extraordinary, for he read to more than three hundred, and after-

[8] Pirkheimeri op. p. 161.

wards to five hundred hearers [9]—in the morning the Kimchi of Rabbi Moses, and in the evening the Plutus of Aristophanes.

Reuchlin, as we have before mentioned, had lived in the house of Joh. von Eck, vice-chancellor of the university, and prebendary of the cathedral. This man was much distinguished in the Reformation, had exchanged his name Mayer for that of his birthplace, according to the custom of the times [1] (he was born in 1486, and died in 1543); he was not destitute of literary acquirements, but proud, loving quarrels, power, and fame—altogether a second Hochstraten. His love of distinction led him to enter the lists against Luther, whom he thought to overwhelm by his learning and authority, and anticipated the more fame from a disputation with him at Leipsic in July, 1519, because two cardinals had tried in vain to conquer him. He had already defended indulgences against Luther in a published treatise; and although he had

[9] See the preface to the treatise of Zenophon, published by him, which he had printed at Hagenau in 1520. Hermann v. d. Hardt has preserved the plan of these lectures in his Parænesis ad Doctores Judæos. Helmstadt, 1725, p. 61, he says: 'Ab illustri principe Wilhelmo Bojorum duce inclyto domino nostro præclarissimæ hujus universitatis causa et nomine Joh. Reuchlin Phorc. LL. D. in operas duarum linguarum principalium, Hebraicæ atque Græcæ, quotidianis ex serario publico nobili stipendio conductas eras 3 nonas Martias diatribæ ludum aperiet litorarium ante meridiem hora nona in auditorio collegii veteris latissimo, anno Christi MDXX.'

[1] Rotemar's Annales Ingoldstadiensis academiæ. Lieben's Lebensbeschreibungen der vornehmsten Theologen, welche 1530 den Reichstag zu Augsburg besuchten. Eck's Schutzrede kindlicher Unschuld wider den Catechisten Andre Hosander, and his 'Schmachbüchlein,' 1540, in which he relates much about his own life, S. Riederer's Beitrag zu den Reformationsurkunden, betreffend die Händel welche Eck bei Publication der päbstlichen Bulle wider Luther 1520 erregt hat. Altdorf, 1762, p. 5.

felt Luther's superiority, he hoped after the disputation to receive the reward of his combat from Rome. As soon as Reuchlin came to know this man by familiar intercourse, he determined to separate from him; and an incident occurred which made them positive enemies. It was, that Eck gave notice at Ingoldstadt by a placard, that he would publicly burn Luther's writings; but Reuchlin and the liberal party, to which the greater part of the academy belonged, opposed him; and although Eck had taken especial pains to gain over the students to his side, yet he was obliged to leave the place amidst universal laughter, without having accomplished any thing but railings[2].

Reuchlin by his lectures in Ingoldstadt formed many clever young men, and gained many friends to Luther's cause, but was obliged to leave the place by the plague, which spread there from Wirtemberg[3]. He, therefore, journeyed back to Stuttgart, and arranged his household again. But in a short time, when his return became known, the university of Tübingen sent two deputies to him, with a request that he would continue to teach in Tübingen as he had begun to do in Ingoldstadt. He accepted the proposition, and taught for the second time in this university. For the sake of his Hebrew lectures the university caused a sufficient number of Hebrew Bibles to be procured from Venice; and in 1522 he had the orations of Æschines and Demosthenes printed in Hagenau for the advantage of his Greek lectures. The students of Heidelberg, discontented that they could hear nothing but Aristotle, removed

[2] Pirkh. op. p. 332. In a letter of Thomas Venatorius to Pirkheimer of January, 1520.

[3] He was still there on the 11th of April, 1521, as is proved by a letter written from Ingoldstadt to Joh. Forster (in Majus, p. 542.) in which he recommends his pupils to carry on his lectures.

to Tübingen, where people were so delighted that Reuchlin should undertake the charge, that it was made known to the public in February, 1522, by a Latin and German patent. But sickness at his great age gave much reason to fear for him. He had recourse to the baths of Liebenzell in the spring, and received here a visit from his old friend and pupil Pellican, but nevertheless he continued to decline, and was obliged to retire to Stuttgart, where he died of the jaundice in June, 1522, in his 67th year[4].

[4] Melanchthon says, erroneously, his seventieth year. His body was buried in the churchyard of the Lazaret, where the poet Brassikanus placed the following epitaph, which Majus communicates:

Cum passim Hebræo et Græco se extolleret orbis
Sermone, antiquo vivere more volens:
Juppiter æthereo placide indignatus Olympo,
Se fragilem in linguis vincere velle hominem;
Doctorem Capnio vocat; nempe ille trilingui
Dogmate, cœlestum corda juvare potest.
Nunquam igitur credas Reuchlinum obiisse caduca
Morte; velut terræ pondera inepta cadunt.
Hunc Deus in patriam æternam jubet ire probatum.
His tandem solida laude magister erit.

The following is another epitaph on him:

Inclita magnum oculum amisit Germania: quando
Reuchlinus superos (morte ferente) petit.

The English reader may catch the general sentiment of these Latin epitaphs on Reuchlin, from the following free translations:

By skill in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin lore,
Our Reuchlin lived as saint and sage of yore.
Pleased, yet surprised, great Jove beheld on high—
A frail man solve learning's last mystery;
And sent him his diploma straight from heaven,
Such praise to triple scholarship is given.
Celestial spirits loved, yet envied one—
By whom such feats of intellect were done:

Think not that Capnion sunk to dust like those
Who win no fame, to hallow death's repose ;
For God vouchsafed him glories, which shall bloom
In brighter worlds beyond the engulfing tomb.

When Reuchlin soar'd to God's eternal throne,
Fair Germany's great eye of light was gone.

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART IV.

Character of Reuchlin,

WITH REMARKS ON THE PAST AND PRESENT STATE OF THE CHURCH.

JOHN REUCHLIN.

PART THE FOURTH.

CHARACTER OF REUCHLIN.

As to the character of Reuchlin, it would be most desirable, for a correct idea of its formation, to have more knowledge of his early years, since education, society, and other circumstances exercise the greatest influence, when the mind in childhood and youth is susceptible of all impressions. But, unfortunately, there is nothing to be inferred as to the manner in which he was brought up, except that the brilliant talent of the youth, in whom vivacity was united with gentleness and a liberal spirit, bear testimony to an education which was neither pedantic, slavish, nor oppressive to free activity and individuality. But we may conclude favourably of it, from his earnest inclination towards religion and morality, which was shown in his early years, and first strove against the harsh cold form of scholasticism. His free mind took a characteristic method of improvement, contrary to the failing of those times, and he sought to form mankind from within, and not from without. The want of truth which he encountered every where in life as

well as in literature, made him feel the necessity of it more and more, and the search for it henceforth filled up his whole time, his mind was framed upon it, and from it arose his historical importance. He had experienced the living power of the Gospel in his heart; and while he commended it to all as the most precious jewel, he also exhibited the effect of it in his life. His temper was love and humility, and his disposition, under such guidance, manifested a certain energy, a manly seriousness, dignity, and delicacy, in his whole conduct. With these Christian sentiments he naturally appeared an affectionate son, a faithful husband, an exemplary brother and relative, an incorruptible, industrious judge, and an assiduous man of business. His enlarged mind did not lose sight of the suitable embellishments of life; he cultivated music, and thereby delighted himself and his associates; loved fun and sprightliness, though rather grave in himself; exercised his body, and by no means withdrew from social life, that he might cherish the influence of sympathy. His restless activity may be considered as a symptom of his interior animation. He fulfilled numerous civil occupations, he was eleven years judge for the Swabian league, more than thirty years councillor, often ambassador from princes and towns, proctor for the Dominicans in Germany, and for many private persons. He applied himself to the pursuit of knowledge[1] day and night, and improved his mind and taste by reading the ancients; the fruits of this cultivation were splendid faculties of perception, memory, and judgement, with a growing sense of the beautiful. The unfavourable side of his temperament was a

[1] He writes in his last letter to the Colognese, p. 136 of the Brfslg., that he is obliged to call in night to help in his work, because he is busy the whole day in 'negotiis reipublicæ secularibus,' so that he can scarce find time to yawn.

feebleness not sufficiently corrected by education, excessive anxiety, want of firm courage in adversity, and a keen sensitiveness to hostility.

So far nothing need be added to the opinion expressed of Reuchlin by his later biographer Meyerhoff. But we feel that it is expedient to add something relative to the cabalistic and theosophic studies by which Reuchlin comes before us in the character of a Mystic, and is as such distinguished from the other reformers of the Church. It is all the more important, as it indicates a defect in the Protestant character, which D'Aubigné would have done better to have admitted than to justify, and also suggests the manner in which the want may be supplied. In the revival of the spirit it is not necessary that the errors should be included.

The Christian Initiates of the middle ages, who read the Scriptures in their spiritual sense, ever kept a steady and watchful eye on the growing abuses of the Church and State. They found a succession of prophetic dates, and descriptions significant of the revolutions of ecclesiastical and civil affairs; and they loved to test passing events by this prophetic method of discrimination.

They found in Daniel, that the latter part of the grand period of 2300 years (dated from B. C. 420, and consisting of 1810 years after the destruction of Jerusalem), contained three remarkable numbers of dates, 1260, 1290, and 1335, days or years.

Some supposed, that these dates commenced their first course of accomplishment from the year A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans. But as all prophecy (according to Lord Bacon) hath a springing, and germinant issue, these dates recommenced several fresh courses of fulfilment, at the successive grand eras of ecclesiastical and civil history.

The Christian Initiates perceived, that from every great era of Church history within certain limits, these dates were to be counted forward to certain periods of deliverance, promised at their conclusion. Thus, in the first instance, reckoning these dates from A.D. 70, they arrived at the respective periods A.D. 1330, 1360, 1405, at which seasons they found extraordinary revivals of true religion among the Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites.

This theory, touching the successive fulfilment of Scripture dates, according to an involved harmony of correspondences, seems to be confirmed by the discoveries of the modern writers on prophecy. Some have supposed that the 1260 years, during which the two witnesses in the Old and New Testaments are said to prophesy in sackcloth, commenced A. D. 70, and terminated in the fourteenth century with the Albigenses, &c. Others supposed that the 1260 years, during which the Church is said to be nourished in the wilderness, should be dated from the birth of Constantine, and end with the German Reformation, 1550. Others reckon the 1260 of the ravaging of the beast from Justinian's edict, and imagine they were fulfilled at the French revolution, 1792; or, from the time when the usurper Phocas conferred the title of universal Bishop on the Pope, and Mahomet retired to his cave to construct his system of doctrine, which would bring the period of accomplishment to the year 1866.

The last calculation we shall notice is that of Hales, who commences his reckoning of the 1260 years from A.D. 620, which corresponds to the Bangorian persecution in Britain. It is truly remarkable (says Hales), that the Mahometan power in the East sprung up the very same year. For Mahomet (respecting whose character and mission such opposite opinions are prevalent) broached his celebrated

journey to heaven, in company with the angel Gabriel, 620, which was so ill-received by his countrymen at first, that he was forced to fly from Mecca, 622, whence the Arabian era of the Hejira or flight commenced. According to this calculation, these prophetic dates will receive their main accomplishment in the year A.D. 1880.

However this may be, from very early periods of the middle ages, noble reformers had arisen and proclaimed against the abuses of Church and State, at the imminent peril of their lives. There existed a sort of under current of truth and virtue among the Initiates, which perpetually undermined the rotten foundations of error, and threatened to blow up the whole mine of corruption. The bold and fearless truth-searchers of the day, still maintained the sworn community of free minds; and the more they were oppressed and maltreated, the more formidable they became.

Those who are intimate with the secret history of these adventurous days, will well understand our meaning. To them it will be sufficient to mention the sects of the gnostical Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and the Lollards, and the names of the Northumbrian Willibrod, and Winnifred of Devon; Scotus, Alcuin, Bacon, Abelard, and Chaucer, to confirm our statement. The philosophers, the cunning artificers, the allegorical bards, took advantage of the pliant system of romance to promulgate the truths of revelation, and Roman Catholic corruption looked with dismay on heroes whom persecution only emboldened.

This great historical verity, so long concealed, has of late years been nobly laid open by Rosetti, in his history of the antipapal spirit of the middle ages. Even in the heart of Italy herself, Dante, Petrarch, Boccacio, Savonarola, and Mirandola, were vehe-

mently opposing their tyrannous oppressors by the subtle enginery of the muses of song. The fine secrets of philosophy and policy veiled themselves under the transparent fascinations of sentiment. Satire with his two-edged sword awoke, like a giant refreshed, from the slumber of ages, and wit and irresistible ridicule followed in his train. The armies of falsehood were defeated on every side, and hypocrisy fled away in the shame of her nakedness.

The Christian Initiates, both before and after the Reformation, mixed themselves with the several orders of Catholic priesthood and chivalric knighthood. They were especially influential among the Theosophers of secret societies, and endeavoured with the promoters of the Reformation to demolish the cursed system of despotism and the Inquisition, and to mitigate mutual asperities. Their conduct and their influence long made them the terror of ecclesiastical and political corruption, till unhappily they caught the deadly infection of bribery, and gave themselves up to the most flagitious enormities.

When the Roman Catholic Church had at length become degraded by every conceivable pollution, a new revival of evangelical religion took place. The reformers of Germany once more went back to the prime elements of our faith in Christ. They restored to mankind that mighty principle, which reconciles all things to itself, and produces a universal harmony among all the departments of truth. They recovered that long lost secret, which effects far brighter ameliorations than all the magic of science, and all the ingenuities of art. A new dawn of light and liberty burst upon the world, and wisdom, glory, and love, resumed their golden empire.

It is a most important fact in theology, that this faith in Christ, when genuine and real, has a remarkable tendency to expand itself through every avenue

of nature and art, and to assimilate all things to its own ethereal temper. For it pleased the Father, that in Him should all fulness dwell; and having made peace by the blood of his cross, by Him he reconciled all things to himself, whether they be things on earth or things in heaven.

Thus it is, that real faith in Christ, seeking to extend the great mediatorial scheme through every region of intelligence, avails itself of all those divine hypostases and characters alluded to in Scripture. The truth, as it is in Christ, can never attain its full power over intellectual beings, till it reduces to its own peculiar unity, and entirety, all the outstanding verities acknowledged by theologic philosophy. And it can only do this by connecting the Christian characteristics with the divine manifestations displayed in universal nature.

Hence results a vast and glorious science, which thoroughly pervades the Scripture and theologic philosophy in general, but which has been rarely cultivated in modern times. This science embraces not merely the existence and attributes of God, as displayed in the natural theology of mental and physical natures, and their most complex adaptations to each other, a subject which Chalmers has lately recalled to the attention of our countrymen, but moreover connects with these truths of natural theology, an immense body of logostic, mediatorial, and evangelical doctrine, which pervades the whole system of creation in these lapsed worlds, and enters into every experience of human intelligence. The traces of this science may be found in Stegman, Fleming, and the writers on christology.

Now the early Reformers, seeking back as they did, to the principle of faith in Christ, necessarily connected with it several mighty verities of theologic philosophy, since almost forgotten. They recovered

that system of spiritual and allegorical interpretation, by which all the grand doctrines of revelation are elicited in their native order. It was thus they triumphed over the cold and heartless formalities of literal exposition and criticism, which had so long bound down the free genius of Christianity in the fetters of the letter which killeth. They recovered the hermeneutic philosophy of Origen and the early fathers, and opposed it to that of the schoolmen; and thus they for ever rescued our religion from the hands of those frozen commentators, who have probably done more injury to the Church by dint of sheer stupidity, than could have been done by the most vehement opposition of apostate wit.

In endeavouring to unravel the profound system of what may be called Scripture mythology, the early reformers evolved a kind of theologic philosophy so rich, various, and beautiful, that nothing now-a-days can stand in competition with it. This naturally connected itself with all the floating theosophic doctrines which had survived the dreadful hostilities of the dark ages. It re-absorbed into its own pure and refulgent essence, the popular traditions scattered through classic and romantic lore—and filled the heart of the nations with devotion, poetry, and heroism.

Then arose once more, like a giant Prometheus, who had broken the chains of his captivity, and fastened them proudly round him, the stupendous system of initiations. Theology and philosophy joined their inseparable hands in the mystic cells of the theosophists, the Rosicrucians, and their sworn fraternities throughout Europe. Here, whatever remained of Cabalistic oriental mythology, every relic of astrology, alchemy, and the occult or physical sciences, was cultivated with a most intense self-devotion. The profoundest wonders of hieroglyphi-

cal mathematics, and all the gorgeous symbolizations of classic fable and rhapsody, were elaborated with astounding rapidity. The spirit of resuscitation and dazzling discovery was alive in every bosom, and the hearts of men grew tremulous with anxious expectations of marvels and miracles, too big for utterance.

This is not the place to describe the result of such causes on science or literature. The names of Reuchlin, Erasmus, Luther, Agrippa, Campanella, Savonarola, Mirandola, Postellus, Des Cartes, Ashmole, and More, are sufficient evidence of their power. To these, and such as these, we owe the recovery of all we most value on earth. With them the glories of philosophy, literature, poetry, art, and heroism, are inseparably connected.

It is now very difficult to describe the exalted and heroic temper of intellectual men about the time of the Reformation. They were, as it were, inspired by doctrines which have since almost evaporated from society. They were, most of them, impressed with a full belief in those very powers of mythology and transcendental philosophy, which invested the ancient world with so brilliant a renown. The universal and intense presence of the invisible God, the harmonic scale of Divine hypostases and characters, the refulgent ladder that stretches from heaven to earth, on which angels ascend and descend, were no dreams to them. The living and presiding spirits that pervade the stars of heaven, and fill up the destinies of all mental and physical creations, were no poetic fictions. The pre-existent glory of earthly intelligences, and their lapse into these regions of materialism, was no preposterous fable. And the universal salvability of those who follow the career of education for immortality, no enthusiastic hope, no vague imagining.

The practical piety and virtue which naturally obtained among such reformers as these, were not unlike the virtues which resulted from similar causes among the ancients. They wore a sublimity, majesty, and heroism, very different from anything beheld in modern life. Men felt at once the grandeur and the beauty of holiness, and the exquisite perfection of honor. They displayed the most invincible courage in the cause of their faith, because they knew their faith comprehended every glorious power, every attractive grace.

It is no wonder then that such reformers made the Reformation triumphant. Their character, their principles, their virtues, the whole style of their thoughts, manners, and actions, were so dignified, so noble, so expansive, compared with those of the supporters of Papal abuses, that all men who came fairly within their reach yielded to their invincible appeal.

The champions of the Romish church at length perceived that such a moral power would inevitably crush them to annihilation, if not matched by another moral power of similar heroism. The illustrious disciples of the Roman bishop began therefore to devote themselves in like manner to the pursuit of theology and science, and fought the great battle of truth on the open fields of literature. Hence arose the noblest intellectual conflicts which the world hath ever witnessed, when these gigantic combatants of the destinies of mankind were armed in all the panoply of learning, and matched the one against the other.

In the long contest which ensued between the Protestants and the Romanists, the Protestants lost much of their original excellencies, and the Romanists much of their original vices. The Protestants lost that high evangelical spirit of devotion to the cross, and that fervent fondness for the honours of theologic philosophy, which once made them so victorious over

the world. The Romanists, on the other hand, lost much of their barbarous ignorance of Scripture, their cruel bigotry, their ceremonial buffoonery, and their detestable exclusiveness. Thus a kind of mutual exchange and composition took place,—Protestant truth relinquished half its glory, Romanist error half its ignominy.

This contest of religious principles and opinions, in which the highest metaphysical faculties of genius were no less exercised than the sagacity of economic politics, aroused every kind of faculty latent in the bosom of men. Then were the sciences and arts applied to social life with consummate ingenuity and delicacy. Then the genius of navigation, that long had slumbered on the Atlantic waves, awoke at the voice of the Lusitanian prince, and every department of civic trade and craftship assumed a distinct and palpable power of utility.

In the present day the natural result of these combined elements of theology and politics is sufficiently evident. The deep faith in Christ, and emulation of the Christian character, which formed the glory of the early Protestants, and which became a bond of union to all the true disciples of the cross, are faded and enervated; and the consequence is, we make no more disciples among the still more unspiritual churches of Christendom, whether Catholic or dissentive. In the next place, the genius and science of the theologic mythology and initiated philosophy is departed from us. We present Divine Truth no longer as one living and connected whole, whose members succeed one another in exact graduations of harmony, but rather as a heap of apparently inconsistent fragments. The consequences are, we fail in converting either the scientific, professional, or mercantile classes of society, because we fail to make them see the universal extensiveness, or the reconciling efficacy of the doctrines

we hold dearest. We fail in making them see how these doctrines naturally amalgamate with all ancient, and classical, and popular tradition, all political arts, all the common interests of social life. Alas! alas! the very topics which ought to be brought forward to confirm and augment the powers of our faith, are now left in a state of outstanding divorcement and hostility.

The virtue of the age, such as it is, has therefore lost all its grandeur of design, all its richness of promise. The universal theory concerning the restoration of all lapsed intelligences by means of mediatorial self-sacrifice, and moral sympathies, which inspired every form of initiation, has almost evaporated from society. The common Initiates, who by virtue of their oaths ought to know better things, have of late years apostatized into political intrigue, mere formal mummery, or convivial festivity, and an almost total indifference for the transcendental discipline of eternal and immutable morality seems to have fallen on the rest of the world.

In our literature we find indeed a few noble aspirants, who endeavour by the voice of their eloquence to startle the slumbers of genius; but these are very few, scattered, sequestered, poor, and despised. Coleridge, one of the last, has just departed; his followers have yet assumed no unity of design or action, and a most pitiful style of common-place thought and expression is fast pervading the popular press.

It is with the idea of recalling men to the sympathies of the early reformers that we so fervently state our belief, that the doctrines of theologic philosophy, if properly pursued and prosecuted, would once more restore our Church to all her lost powers. We believe this would conciliate all true Initiates, of all languages, sects, and parties. Thus a higher and happier style of religion, jurisprudence, and policy,

would yet arise among men, science and literature would soar into glorious utilities never yet attained, and all the institutions of social life would emerge from their present confusion in new and beautiful forms.

A few of the principal methods of producing this Reformation of religion among us may briefly be mentioned. In the first place, there must be a grand revival of spirituality and devotion (which let envy call enthusiasm), in the hearts of the clergy and the preachers. There must be a strenuous and thorough-going emulation of the apostolic character. There must be an earnest prayerfulness for the Divine unction and assistance, without which they can do nothing. There must be a most stirring and awakening style of preaching, a pressing home of the tremendous and magnificent doctrines of the Gospel, with all the inspiring, and alarming, and compelling powers of uproused and unrestrained eloquence. And, finally, there must be a most zealous and indefatigable assiduity in the pastoral offices of instructive visitation, and tender-hearted consolation. If the clergy do not take the kingdom of heaven by violence, they seldom take it at all.

It is sad enough that we should have thus to call on the national clergy, to awake from the slumbers of a fatal lethargy—a lethargy never so fatal as when all other classes of society are rushing on from change to change with ceaseless and anxious motion. There ever have been some clergymen among us, who, sharing in the quickening spirit of the early reformers, have endeavoured to stir up their torpid brethren to a warm and heroic enthusiasm. These we honour and love. But in general our clergy seem to have lost all sense of the tremendous grandeur and intense urgency of their commission. They no longer speak like heaven-inspired apostles to congregations of lapsed and

perishing souls, whose eternal destinies are perchance depending on the influence of each particular address, but rather like quiet and prosy expositors of a system of historical morals. Men cannot speak with the demonstration of the Spirit of God, unless themselves have felt the powers of the invisible world; and this is, we conceive, the reason why so very few of our divines exert that evangelical and soul-inflaming energy, which is the very first requisite in the minister of the Gospel. We write thus strongly, because we are convinced that all real ecclesiastical reform must begin with the temper of the clergy; if this remains unreformed, all subordinate reformations are hollow and unserviceable. And this is the point on which the value of our clergy will ultimately rest, as well as their avail in opposing the growth of sectarian errors.

We wish not to enter at large on the peculiar requisites of an efficacious ministry, which have been so well described by Knox and Hall, Foster and Channing; but we cannot help pressing home this argument in favour of earnestness on our readers, because we believe that it lies at the very source of clerical efficiency. If there is one defect more than another of which we accuse our clergy, it is that of coldness and dulness. This defect is in a great measure the consequence of a most unspiritual education, and is often found in clergymen otherwise most estimable and exemplary. The few preachers who have been at all influential of late years in stemming the torrent of popular delusion, have been just those who spoke with the most thrilling and penetrating earnestness. They knew that the most spirit-stirring was almost the most useful and most popular ministry. They knew that this was the only style which could produce striking effects on the mixed secular and formal congregations that crowd our churches; and for this

reason they cultivated extemporary eloquence the more earnestly, that they might be instant in season and out of season. This was their distinguishing merit; and for this we forgive them all the little defects of manner with which cold-hearted critics might be disposed to charge their powerful extemporaneous addresses. They obeyed an infinitely greater law than that they broke, and the fervent attachment and veneration of their respective flocks proclaimed their triumph.

It is to this fatal coldness and indifferency of manner, that formality of drilled enunciation and behaviour, in which most of our clergy are fettered and bound up, that we impute their extreme inefficacy, notwithstanding our huge machinery of churches, schools, and charities. Instead of gaining any fresh victories over Roman Catholic bigotry, sectarian disaffection, or secular infidelity, they have actually been losing ground for more than a century. If one of the early reformers could now rise from the grave of his glorious achievements, how would he be surprised to find his successors, though furnished with all the means and appliances which he most wanted, basely resigning his blood-sealed trophies to the enemy? To what cause would he impute the formation of so many sects and heresies, some of which have far more spiritual vitality, and all a greater share of physical excitement and activity?

If we could but find divines possessed of the spirit of the early reformers, men full of the superhuman powers of the Holy Ghost, and the glorious magic of our faith; men who made their congregations feel, and weep, and exult, and grow pale, and groan; men who by the electric sympathies of our nature called up, as with the voice of enchanters, the slumbering instincts of immortality—their unutterable magnificence, their infinite horrors—Oh! could we

find such men as these to fill our pulpits, a new reformation, no less glorious, would pass through the length and breadth of our land. But while our preachers continue with the utmost possible composure of manner to deliver lengthy, prosy, schoolboy expositions, or verbose and exanimate lectures, the strong delusion of lies takes root in the hearts of the people. The errors of popish superstition, sectarian schism; fanaticism on the one hand, and blind enthusiasm on the other, are leading the way to universal infidelity and violence.

A few of the main, and absolutely indispensable remedies for the reform of the Church, are perfectly clear, if they could but be sincerely acted on. One is the election and preferment of those bishops, priests, and deacons, who are distinguished by devoted piety and eloquence to the most influential stations in the Church; these influential stations are principally in the metropolis and the chief cities, as these give character and dispositions to the country in general.

These pious men should make themselves masters, as far as possible, of the theologic philosophy, literature, politics, and all the sciences and arts. For how can they speak with confidence, precision, and boldness, on those great secrets of Truth which perpetually influence the doctrines of society, if they are conscious that many of the men in their congregations are vastly more knowing than themselves in such matters?

In the next place, the laws against non-residence and pluralities ought to be unflinchingly and inflexibly enforced. Nothing but the most clear and distinct necessity of the case should be allowed to release a clergyman from his sworn duty to God and man, or give him a license to intrude on the duty and the livelihood of his brother. The necessity, moreover,

alleged for these gross, flagrant, and ruinous abuses, which are destroying our whole ecclesiastical fabric, should be removed without delay, and without any reservation.

If, in connexion with these external reforms, our clergy could recover that deep and absorbing sense of the Divine omnipresence, and the communion of angels and saints, whether within the Church or without the Church, which possessed the early reformers, they would at the same time regain that spiritual ascendancy over the people which their predecessors enjoyed. There is a celestial dignity and impressiveness about men who are thus accustomed to realize the powers of the invisible world, which no secular enemies are able to gainsay or resist. Let but the clergy regain this apostolic glory of the Gospel, this heroic and unquenchable zeal for the salvation of the lapsed souls of their brethren, and they will soon find that their revenues will be paid with alacrity and generosity. It is just because their self-indulgence has so long allowed their flocks to fall asleep, that their flocks now object to support them. The people are always least willing to pay for clerical assistance precisely at the moment when they really require it most.

If the dignitaries then employed themselves in advancing the cause of heartfelt and thoroughgoing religion by the practical reform of every public association and institution of education or charitable relief; if they made it their warm and energetic business to promote the true interests of the Church, by extending its philanthropical agency through every piece of moral and social mechanism, they would be considered no more as drones in the national hive, but rather as the saviours of their country.

And if priests and deacons would once more recover the spirit of the early reformers in times

which are perhaps still more exciting and ominous; if they would preach as under the dreadful responsibility of all the souls which will be required at their hands; if they would throw open their churches to weekly services of devotion, and enter into the pastoral offices with the ardour of first love, they would rise to the noblest utility. Let them promote every good cause both sacred and secular, by public and private meetings, by familiar fellowship with their flocks, and by the religious education of the young, and their pious and active benevolence will sink deep into many hearts, and they will regain the affections of the people. It is only by excelling the Catholics and the Dissenters in their own arts that the conformist clergy can make their cause triumphant.

It is desirable, we think, that clergymen should preside at many of the parish meetings, and endeavour to draw the wardens, and elders, and officers of his parish around him, as they do in Scotland. The importance of strengthening the hands of the Church by the agency of lay members, is manifest from this mode of producing conciliation among the Dissenters.

We may also mention the important benefits that would result if the clergy would throw open their houses at least once a week to conversation meetings, at which the respectable Churchmen and Dissenters of the parish might regularly assemble for mutual benefit. This would be the means of concentrating the good and benevolent, and of extending the influence of social example and affection through every parish in the country. And if to this were added pastoral visitations from house to house, the heart of the shepherd and the flock would be knit together in love. No longer would they remain indifferent to each other and their mutual interests, and vital national religion would once more flourish among us.

The intimacy of the relation subsisting between

the pastor and the flock, is the true secret of clerical power. How is it that the Roman Catholic priesthood are gaining so much ground in spite of their doctrinal errors? why, because they encourage confessions and visitations, and by various means become thoroughly acquainted with their people. The same cause has made the various dissenting ministers so popular with the many. They consider their whole time the property of their respective flocks, and consequently they are always accessible, always familiar. Their associations, prayer-meetings, week-day services, schools, and charities, are all more or less subservient to the accession of social influence.

We have written earnestly on this subject, because the fate of the clergy is now in their own hands. If they rely on the strength of their Divine Master and his cross, if they follow the example of the apostles, the fathers, the saints, and the reformers, and preach with the demonstration of the Spirit and with power, they will be triumphant, and renowned as they. But if they trust not implicitly to these hidden and spiritual energies of our faith, if they place confidence in the arm of flesh—their learning, their wealth, their establishment, their connections,—they will become a byeword and a reproach.

It is a serious topic—for with the fate of the clergy is absolutely involved that of the people. The Church and State are indissolubly linked together by divine Providence, and the whole constitution of things. If the Church flourishes the State will flourish; if the Church falls the State will fall: and then the fair fields of our country will be trodden by infidels, apostates, revolutionists, and anarchists, till they recover truth by the punishment of error.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

APOTHEOSIS OF REUCHLIN, BY ERASMUS.

THE canonization of Capnio (or concerning the incomparably excellent man, John Reuchlin, put into the number of the saints,) teacheth us how great honour is due to excellent men, who by their pains in studies have deserved well of the liberal sciences.

'None dies miserably that hath lived well.'

Pompilius, Brassicanus.

Pom. Whence comest thou to us with great shoes on thy feet? *Bras.* From Tubingen. *Pom.* Is there no news there? *Bras.* Truly I wonder much, that all men should be so desirous of news. Why, I heard a certain camel preach at Louvain, that we should shun whatever is new. *Pom.* That's a speech beseeming a camel. The man deserved (if so be he was a man) never to change his old shoes, or his rotten slops, always to eat rotten eggs, and to drink nothing else but dead wine. *Bras.* Why, but the same man, I would have thee know, is not so much in love with old things, as that he had rather have pottage made the day before than fresh soups. *Pom.* But, letting the camel pass, tell me if thou bringest any news. *Bras.* Yes, I do bring news, but, as he said, bad ones. *Pom.* Why, but that very thing will be old hereafter. So that it must needs be, that if all old things be good, and all new things bad, whatever things are good at present, have been bad heretofore, and the things that now are evil, will be good hereafter. *Bras.* So it seems to be according

to the camel's opinion. Yet it follows, that who heretofore being a young man, was an evil fool, because he was new, the same is now a good fool, because he is grown old. *Pom.* But come on, let me hear it, whatever it is. *Bras.* That excellent rare man, John Reuchlin, that was well skilled in three languages, is dead. *Pom.* Dost thou tell it me for certain? *Bras.* More certain than I wish it were. *Pom.* But what evil is that, when one hath left a never dying memory of a most honourable name to posterity, to depart from the troubles of this life into the society of the saints? *Bras.* Who hath discovered that to thee? *Pom.* The thing itself. For he cannot die otherwise, who lived after such a manner. *Bras.* But thou wouldest rather say even so, if thou knew as much as I do. *Pom.* What is that, I pray thee? *Bras.* It is not lawful to relate it. *Pom.* Wherefore? *Bras.* Because he that entrusted me, made a bargain with me not to reveal the secret. *Pom.* Trust me with it also upon the same condition, I promise thee faithfully to keep silence. *Bras.* Although that promise hath often deceived me already, yet come on, I will trust thee with it, especially seeing the thing is of that nature, as that it may be fit to be known even to all good men. There is at Tubingen one of the Franciscan Order, who is accounted by all men, but himself, to be a man of excellent holiness. *Pom.* Thou tellest me of a great sign of true holiness. *Bras.* Thou wouldest approve the man, and thou wouldest confess it to be true, if I should name him. *Pom.* What if I guess it? *Bras.* Thou mayest. *Pom.* Hark in thy ear. *Bras.* What needs that, seeing we are alone? *Pom.* That is the custom. *Bras.* It is the very same man. *Pom.* He is a very trusty man. I shall hold it an oracle whatever he shall say. *Bras.* Hear then the whole discourse without a deceit. Our Reuchlin was sick, indeed very dangerously, but so, as there was good hope, that in time he might recover his health; he was a man that deserved never to wax old, to be sick, or to die. In the morning I went to see my Franciscan, that by his words he might assuage the grief of my mind. For I was sick together with my sick friend, whom I loved as my father. *Pom.* Fie! who in any place did not love him, unless it were a very base fellow? *Bras.* Says

this my Franciscan, 'Brassican, put quite away all sorrow from thy heart, our Reuchlin hath left off to be sick.' 'What,' say I, 'is he grown well again on a sudden? For two days' space before, the physicians gave no great hopes of him.' 'Then,' says he, 'he hath recovered his health, but on that fashion, that hereafter he needs not be afraid of sickness. Do not weep (for he saw the tears bursting out) until thou hear the whole matter. I had not gone to see the man in six days, but yet I prayed to the Lord for his health in my daily prayers. This day at night, when I had laid myself down in my bed after the morning-service, a kind of pleasing and not sound sleep stole upon me.' *Pom.* I cannot tell what good news my mind foretels me. *Bras.* Thy mind presageth nothing hurtful. 'Methought,' says he, 'I stood at a certain little bridge, over which there was a passage into a very pleasant meadow. The more than smaragdine greenness of the grass and leafy boughs did so much delight my sight, the flowers like little stars did so smile upon me with an incredible variety of colours, all things breathed out such a fragrant scent, as that all the meadows that were on this side the river, wherewith that most flourishing field was parted from them, seemed neither to grow, nor to be green, but all things seemed dead, unpleasant, and withered. And in the mean time, while I was wholly taken up with that sight, Reuchlin opportunely had passed by; and passing by he prayed, "Peace be to thee," in the Hebrew tongue. He was gone half over the bridge before I perceived him; and preparing myself to run to him, he, looking back, forbad me. 'It is not yet,' saith he, 'lawful for thee to do it. Thou shalt follow me five years hence. In the mean while, stand thou still as a witness and beholder of those things which are done.' 'At this,' said I, 'was Reuchlin naked or clothed? was he alone, or had he company?' Says he, 'He had no clothes, besides one very white, you would have said it had been satin, of a wonderful bright-shining whiteness: behind him followed a boy of a marvellous beauty, with wings; I thought that it was his good angel.' *Pom.* But did there no evil angel accompany him? *Bras.* Yes, some, as that Franciscan thought. 'Afar off,' says he, 'there followed behind him some birds that had black feathers,

in other parts, except that in the opening of their wings, they showed flesh-coloured feathers, rather than white ones.' Saith he, 'They might seem to be Pies, in their colour and voice, but that every one of them was as big in body as sixteen Pies, being no less than Vultures, having a crest on their crown, with crooked beaks and talons; they might seem to be harpies, if they had been but three. *Pom.* What did these furies attempt to do? *Bras.* Says he, 'They did make a noise at the noble Reuchlin afar off, being ready to set upon him, if they had been able.' *Pom.* Why could they not? *Bras.* Because Reuchlin, turning himself about, shaking his hand against them, and, making the sign of the cross: 'Get you gone,' says he, 'you wicked hags, to that place which you deserve. Let it be sufficient for you to trouble mortal men: your rage hath no power upon me, who am now enrolled among immortal creatures.' 'He had scarce spoken these words,' saith the Franciscan, 'but those most ugly fowls went away, but leaving a stinking savour behind them, unto which if a jakes were compared, it would seem to be oil of sweet marjoram, or a pleasant ointment. He swore deeply, that he would rather go down even to hell, than he would endure to be blasted again with such a perfume.' *Pom.* A rope take those filthy birds. *Bras.* But hear what remains behind, which the Franciscan told me: 'While I heedfully beheld these things,' says he, 'Saint Jerome was now come near the bridge, who spake to Reuchlin in these words: "Save thee, most holy copartner; I am entrusted with this business, to entertain and bring thee into the society of the saints, which thing the Divine bounty hath appointed for thy most holy labours." And with that he took out a garment, which he put upon Reuchlin.' Then said I, 'Tell me, in what apparel, or in what shape, did Jerome seem to be? was he so old, as they paint him, or had he a hood, or a hat, or a cardinal's robe, or a lion by his side?' He answered to these things; quoth he, 'He had nothing of that kind. His shape was pleasant to behold, which showed his age in such a manner, as that he had no deformity, but very much majesty.' 'But to what purpose did he need a lion there to accompany him, which the picture-drawers have drawn by him?' 'He wore a gar-

ment hanging down to his heels, thou wouldst say it was transparent crystal. It was of the same shape as that which he gave to Reuchlin. It was embroidered all over with tongues, with a threefold change of colours. Some showed like a pyropus, some like a smaragd stone, the third like a sapphire. All were transparent, and their rank gave no little grace to them.' *Pom.* I guess that that was the badge of the three languages that they were well skilled in. *Bras.* There is no doubt of that. For the borders also, as he said, were seen to be written upon with the letters of three languages, distinguished in three colours. *Pom.* Did Jerome come without any company? *Bras.* Without company, dost thou say? All the field was compassed about with ten thousands of angels, and they filled all the air as full, as we see motes, which they call atoms, to fly up and down in the sunbeams, if so be we may make a comparison herein from so low a subject. Neither could one have seen the sky, nor the field, but that all things were transparent. *Pom.* O brave, I am glad, for Reuchlin's sake. What was done afterward? *Bras.* Jerome, (quoth he,) taking Reuchlin by his right hand to honour him, led him along in the meadow. There, there was a hill high in the midst: on the top of which, both of them embraced each other with a friendly kiss. And in the mean while the heaven above opened itself asunder, with a huge vista, presenting forth a kind of unspeakable majesty, in such a manner, so as at that beauty the other things were in a manner nothing worth, which notwithstanding before seemed to be wonderful. *Pom.* Canst thou not set forth some representation of it to us? *Bras.* How can I, who saw it not? He who saw it, denied that he was able by any words to describe so much as a dream of the things; he said only thus much, that he is ready to die even a thousand times, if he may enjoy that sight again, though it were but a little moment. *Pom.* What then, I pray thee? *Bras.* From the wide opening of heaven, a huge pillar of bright but delightful fire was let down: by that the two most holy souls embracing each other were carried up into heaven, while choirs of angels filled all places with so admirable melody, that the Franciscan denies, that he is ever able to call to mind that delight he took, but he

burst out into tears. There followed a wonderful fragrancy. When the man awaked, if so be that is to be called waking, he was like one besides himself. He did not believe that he was in his private chamber. He looked for the bridge and his meadow, neither could he speak of anything else. The seniors of that college, when they perceived that the thing was not a fiction, for it was certainly known that Reuchlin died at the same hour of three o'clock, at what time the vision appeared to that very holy man, unanimously gave thanks to God, who very largely rewards the good deeds of godly men. *Pom.* What should we do then, but register that very holy man's name among the saints? *Bras.* I was about to do so, although the Franciscan had seen no such thing, and that in golden letters too, next unto St. Jerome. *Pom.* Let me die, if I will not do the same in my book. *Bras.* And more than that, he shall stand in my private chapel among the choice saints. *Pom.* He shall stand even of pearl in mine, if I had riches according to my mind. *Bras.* He shall be put in my library next to Jerome. *Pom.* And he shall be put to mine also. *Bras.* Yea, if they will show themselves thankful, all men will do so, who honour and love the tongues and good learning, especially the holy Scriptures. *Pom.* Indeed he deserveth it. But doth that doubt nothing trouble thee, because he is not as yet canonized for a saint, by the authority of the Pope of Rome? *Bras* Who canonized Paul? and who the Virgin Mother? Whose memory is more reverenced among all godly men, whether of those whose renowned piety, whose testimonies of their wit and life cause all men to love them; or of Katherine of Sena, whom Pope Pius the Second of that name is reported to have made a she-saint, for the love or the order and city? *Pom.* Thou sayest true. That only (at length) is true honour which is willingly given to the merits of the dead worthy of heaven, whose good deeds are always perceived. *Bras.* What then? dost thou think that this man's death is to be lamented? He lived a long time, if that thing make anything for a man's happiness. He hath left remembrances of his virtue that will never quite die. He hath made his name immortal by his good deeds. Now being freed from miseries, he enjoyeth

heaven, and discourseth together with Jerome. *Pom.* But he underwent many things in his lifetime. *Bras.* But St. Jerom suffered more. It is a happiness to suffer from evil men for well doing. *Pom.* Indeed, I grant it, Jerom endured many things from the worst men for the best deeds. *Bras.* That which Satan did once by the Scribes and Pharisees against the Lord Jesus; the same he likewise now doth by some pharisaical men against all the worthiest, and who by their studies do good to the community. Now he reaps an excellent harvest for the seed which he sowed. In the mean time it will be our duty to reverence his memory; to extol his name with commendations, and now and then to do our devotion to him in such like words as these: 'O holy soul! be favourable to the languages; be favourable to those that love honourers of the languages; be propitious to the holy tongues; destroy those wicked slanderers that are infected with the poison of hell.' *Pom.* I will do so, and I will earnestly speak to others to do the same thing. And I do not doubt but that there will be many who may desire some little prayer, seeing it is a custom in use, whereby they may honour the memory of that very honourable man. *Bras.* I provided one, and that before his death. *Pom.* Pray thee, rehearse it. *Bras.* 'O God the lover of mankind, who by thy chosen servant John Reuchlin hast given again to the world the gift of tongues, wherewith heretofore thou didst from heaven furnish thine Apostles, by thy Holy Spirit for the preaching of the Gospel; grant that in all languages, all men everywhere may set forth the glory of thy Son Jesus: and confound thou the tongues of the false apostles, who are confederate to underprop the wicked Tower of Babel, endeavouring to darken thy glory, while they study to advance their own, seeing that all glory is due unto thee alone, together with thine only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Holy Spirit unto eternity. Amen.' *Pom.* Truly it is a neat and godly prayer. I wish I may never stir, if I will not say it every day. And I account this an happy meeting to me, because I have learnt so comfortable a thing of thee. *Bras.* Long mayest thou enjoy that comfort, and so farewell. *Pom.* Fare thee well also.

APPENDIX II.

FROM an excellent article in the Edinburgh Review, 1831, on the Character and Authorship of the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, we extract the following remarks:—

The character of Reuchlin is one of the most remarkable in that remarkable age; it exhibits, in the highest perfection, a combination of qualities which are in general found incompatible. At once a man of the world and of books, he excelled equally in practice and speculation; was a statesman and a philosopher, a jurist and a divine. Nobles, and princes, and emperors, honoured him with their favour, and employed him in their most difficult affairs; while the learned throughout Europe looked up to him as the 'trilingue miraculum,' 'the phœnix litterarum,' the 'eruditorum ἄλφα.' In Italy, native Romans listened with pleasure to his Latin declamation; and he compelled the jealous Greeks to acknowledge that 'Greece had overflown the Alps.' Of his countrymen, he was the first to introduce the study of ancient literature into the German Universities; the first who conquered the difficulties of the Greek language; the first who opened the gates of the East, unsealed the Word of God, and unveiled the sanctuary of Hebrew wisdom. Agricola was the only German of the fifteenth century who approached him in depth of classical erudition; and it was not till after the commencement of the sixteenth, that Erasmus rose to divide with him the admiration of the learned. As an Oriental scholar, Reuchlin died without a rival. Cardinal Fisher, who 'almost adored his name,' made a pilgrim-

age from England for the sole purpose of visiting the object of his worship; and that great divine candidly confesses to Erasmus, that he regarded Reuchlin as 'bearing off from all men the palm of knowledge, especially in what pertained to the hidden matters of religion and philosophy.' At the period of which we speak, Reuchlin, withdrawn from academical tuition to the conduct of political affairs, was not, however, unemployed in peaceably promoting by his writings the cause of letters; when suddenly he found himself, in the decline of life, the victim of a formidable persecution, which threatened ruin to himself, and proscription to his favourite pursuits.

The alarming progress of the new learning had at last convinced the theologians and philosophers of the old leaven, that their credit was only to be restored by a desperate and combined effort—not against the partisans, but against the leaders of the literary reformation. 'The two eyes of Germany' were to be extinguished; and the theologians of Cologne undertook to deal with Reuchlin, while Erasmus was left to the mercies of their brethren of Louvain. The assailants pursued their end with obstinacy, if not with talent: that they did not succeed, showed that the spirit of the age had undergone a change —a change which the persecutions themselves mainly contributed to accomplish.

It was imagined that Hebrew literature, and the influence of Reuchlin, could not be more effectually suppressed, than by rendering both the objects of religious suspicion. In this attempt the theologians of Cologne found an appropriate instrument in John Pfefferkorn, a Jew, who had taken refuge in Christianity from the punishment which his crimes had merited at the hands of his countrymen[1]. In the course of the years 1508 and

[1] Maius, in his Vita Reuchlini, Jacobus Thomasius, in the Observationes Hallenses, Dupin, in his Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, and many others, confound this John Pfefferkorn with a relapsed Jew of the same name, who was burned for blasphemy at Halle in 1514. The Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, and the Poemata of Hutten, might have kept them right.

1509, four[2] treatises (three in Latin, one in German) were published under the name of the new convert; the scope of which was to represent the Jewish religion in the most odious light. The next step was to obtain from the emperor an edict, commanding that all Hebrew books, with exception of the Bible, should be searched for, and burned, throughout the empire; on the ground, that Jewish literature was nothing but a stock of libels on the character of Christ and Christianity. The cultivation of Hebrew learning would thus be rendered impossible, or at least discouraged; and, at the same time, it was probably expected that the Jews would bribe liberally to evade the execution of the decree. Maximilian was, in fact, weak or negligent enough to listen to the misrepresentation, and even to bestow on Pfefferkorn the powers necessary to carry the speculation into effect; but some informality having been discovered in the terms of the commission, the Jews had interest to obtain a suspension of the order; and previous to its renewal, a mandate was issued, requiring, among other opinions, that of Reuchlin, as to the nature and contents of the Jewish writings. Of the referees, Reuchlin alone complied with the requisition. He showed that, to extirpate Hebrew literature in the mass, was not only unjust, but inexpedient; that a large proportion of the Rabbinic writings was not of a theological character at all, and consisted of works not only innocent, but highly useful; and that the religious books themselves, while not, in general, such as they had been malevolently represented, were of the greatest importance to Christianity, as furnishing, in fact, the strongest arguments in refutation of the doctrine they defended.

This was precisely what the obscurants of Cologne desired. Pfefferkorn, with their assistance, published (1511), under the name of 'Handglass' (Handspiegel), a tract in which Reuchlin was held up to religious detesta-

[2] These tracts are extremely rare. Meiners (to say nothing of Muench) was acquainted only with three. In our collection there is a fourth, entitled Hostis Judæorum, &c. with the Epigramma politum of Ortuinus against the Jews, in the titlepage, which was reprinted in his Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum.

tion, as the advocate of Jewish blasphemy, and as guilty of many serious errors in the faith. Reuchlin condescended to reply; and his 'Eyeglass' (Augenspiegel) exposed the ignorance and falsehood of his contemptible adversary. The principals now found it necessary to come forward. Arnold Tungern, as dean of the Theological Faculty of Cologne, undertook to sift the orthodoxy of the Eyeglass; forty-three propositions 'de Judaico favore nimis suspectæ,' were extracted and published; and Reuchlin summoned to an open recantation (1512). In his 'Defensio contra calumniatores Colonienses,' (1513), Reuchlin annihilated the accusation, and treated his accusers with the unmitigated severity which their malevolence and hypocrisy deserved. These were James Hoogstraten, a man of no inconsiderable ability, and of extensive influence, as member of the Theological Faculty of Cologne, as Prior of the Dominican Convent in that city, and as 'Inquisitor hæreticæ pravitatis,' for the dioceses of Cologne, Mentz, and Treves,—Arnold of Tungern (or Luyd), dean of the Theological Faculty, and head of the Burse of St. Lawrence,—and Ortuinus Gratius (Ortwin von Graes), a pupil of Hegius, and now a leading member of the Faculty of Arts, a sycophant, who, in hopes of preferment, prostituted talents in subservience to the enemies of that learning in which he was himself no contemptible proficient.

Reuchlin was not ignorant of the enemies with whom he had to grapple. The Odium Theologicum has been always proverbial; the Dominicans were exasperated and leagued against him; no opposition had hitherto prevailed against that powerful order, who had recently crushed Joannes de Wesalia, for a similar offence, by a similar accusation; while a contemporary pope emphatically declared, that he would rather provoke the enmity of the most formidable sovereign, than offend even a single friar of those mendicant fraternities, who, under the mantle of humility, reigned omnipotent over the Christian world. Reuchlin wrote to his friends throughout Europe, entreating their protection and interest in obtaining for him new allies. He received from all quarters the warmest assurances of sympathy and co-operation. Not only in Germany, but in Italy, France, and England, a confederation

was organized between the friends of humane learning[3]. The cause of Reuchlin became the cause of letters; Europe was divided into two hostile parties; the powers of light stood marshalled against the powers of darkness. So decisive was this struggle regarded for the interests of literature, that the friends of illumination saw, in its unexpected issue, the special providence of God[4]; and so immediate were its consequences in preparing the religious reformation, that Luther acknowledges to Reuchlin, that he only followed in his steps—only consummated his victory in breaking the teeth of the Behemoth[5]. It was this contest, indeed, which first proved that the nations were awake, and public opinion again the paramount tribunal. In this tribunal the cause of Reuchlin was in reality decided, and his triumph had been long complete before it was formally ratified by a papal sentence. Reuchlin's victory, in public opinion, was accomplished by a satire; and the anathema on its publication by the Holy See, only gave intensity to its effect. But to return.

Hoogstraten now cited Reuchlin before the court of Inquisition at Mentz (1513). Reuchlin declined Hoogstraten as a judge; he was his personal enemy, and not his provincial; and when these objections were overruled, he appealed to the pope. This appeal, notwithstanding, and in contempt of a siste on the proceedings by the Elector of Mentz, Hoogstraten and his theological brethren of Cologne condemned, and publicly burned the writings of Reuchlin, as 'offensive, dangerous to religion, and savouring of heresy;' and to enhance the infamy, they obtained from the Sorbonne of Paris, and the theological faculties of Mentz, Erfurth, and Louvain, an

[3] England, for example, sent to the 'army of the Reuchlinists,' More, Fisher, Lynacre, Grocyn, Colet, Latimer, Tunstal, and Ammonius of Lucca; 'omnes,' says Erasmus to Reuchlin, 'Græce docti præter Coletum.' (Epist. ill. Vir. ad Reuchl. lib. ii. Ti.) We may notice that this rare and interesting collection has five letters of Erasmus, not to be found in any edition of his works.

[4] Jo. Cæsarius (Ep. ad Reuchl. lib. ii. X iii.) and Eobanus Hessus (ibid. Z i.)

[5] Epist. ad Reuchl. lib. ii. C i.

approval of the sentence. Their triumph was wild and clamorous, but it was brief. On Reuchlin's appeal, the pope had delegated the investigation to the Bishop of Spires; and that prelate, without regard to the determinations of the reverend faculties, decided summarily in favour of Reuchlin, and condemned Hoogstraten in the costs of process (1514). It was now the Inquisitor's turn to appeal. The cause was referred by Leo to a body of commissioners in Rome; and Hoogstraten, amply furnished with money, proceeded to that capital. The process thus protracted, every mean was employed by the Dominicans to secure a victory. In Rome, they assailed the judges with bribes and intimidation. In Germany, they vented their malice, and endeavoured to promote their cause by caricatures and libels, among which last the Tocsin (Sturmglock), ostensibly by Pfefferkorn, was conspicuous; while the pulpits rang with calumnies against their victim.

Amid this impotent discharge of squibs, there was launched, from an unknown hand, a pasquil against the persecutors of Reuchlin; it fell among them like a bomb, scattering dismay and ruin in its explosion. This tremendous satire was the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum ad venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortuinum Gratium.' Its purport is as follows:—Before the commencement of his persecution, Reuchlin had published a volume of letters from his correspondents; and Reuchlin's enemy, Ortuinus, is now, in like manner, supposed to print a volume of the epistles addressed to him by his friends. But while the correspondents of Ortuinus were, of course, any thing but less distinguished than those of Reuchlin, the former is supposed to entitle his collection Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum ad Ortuinum, in modest ridicule of the arrogance of Reuchlin and his Epistolæ Illustrium Virorum[6]. The plan of the satire is thus extremely simple—to make the enemies of Reuchlin and of polite letters represent themselves; and the representation is managed

[6] See E. O. V. vol. ii. Ep. 1. Dr. Muench is wrong in supposing that 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum' means 'Briefe der Finsterlinge.' The original title does not, perhaps, sufficiently conceal the satire; the translated openly declares it.

with a truth of nature only equalled by the absurdity of the postures in which the actors are exhibited. Never were unconscious barbarism, self-glorious ignorance, intolerant stupidity, and sanctimonious immorality, so ludicrously delineated; never did delineation less betray the artifice of ridicule. The Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum are at once the most cruel and the most natural of satires; and as such, they were the most effective. They converted the tragedy of Reuchlin's persecution into a farce; annihilated in public consideration the enemies of intellectual improvement; determined a radical reform in the German universities; and even the friends of Luther, in Luther's lifetime, acknowledged that no other writing had contributed so powerfully to the downfall of the papal domination[7]. 'Veritas non est de ratione faceti;' but never was argument more subservient as to the cause of truth.

Morally considered, indeed, this satire is an atrocious libel, which can only be palliated on the plea of retaliation, necessity, the importance of the end, and the consuetude of the times. Its victims are treated like vermin; hunted without law, and exterminated without mercy. What truth there may be in the wicked scandal it retails, we are now unable to determine.

Critically considered, its representations may, to a mere modern reader, appear to sacrifice verisimilitude to effect. But by those who can place themselves on a level with the age in which the Epistolæ appeared, their ridicule (a few passages excepted) will not be thought to have overshot its aim. So truly, in fact, did it hit the mark, that the objects of the ridicule themselves, with the exception of those who were necessarily in the secret, read the letters as the genuine product of their brethren, and even hailed the publication as highly conducive to the honour of scholasticism and monkery. In 1516, immediately after the appearance of the first volume, thus writes Sir

[7] 'Nescio,' says Justus Jonas, 'an ullum hujus sæculi scriptum sic papistico regno nocuerit, sic omnia papistica ridicula reddiderit, ut hæ Obscurorum Virorum Epistolæ, quæ omnia minima, maxima, clericorum vitia verterint in risum.'—Epist. Anonymi ad Crotum.

Thomas More: 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum operæ pretium est videre quantopere placent omnibus, et doctis joco, et indoctis serio, qui, dum ridemus, putant rideri stylum tantum, quem illi non defendunt, sed gravitate sententiarum dicunt compensatum, et latere sub rudi vagina pulcherrimum gladium. Utinam fuisset inditus libello alius titulus! profecto intra centum annos homines studio stupidi non sensissent nasum quanquam rhinocerotico longiorem.'—'Pessime consuluit,' says Erasmus in 1518, 'rebus humanis, qui titulum indidit Obscurorum Virorum: quod ni titulus prodidisset lusum, et hodie passim legerentur illæ Epistolæ, tanquam in gratiam Prædicatorum scriptæ. Adest hic Lovanii Magister noster, pridem Prior apud Bruxellas, qui viginti libellos coemerat, gratificaturus amicis, paulo antequam Bulla illa prodiret, quæ effulminat eum libellum. Primum optabam non editum eum libellum, verum ubi fuerat editus, optabam alium titulum.'—And again, in a letter twenty years thereafter,—'Ubi primum exissent Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, miro Monachorum applausu exceptæ sunt apud Britannos a Franciscanis ac Dominicanis, qui sibi persuadebant eas in Reuchlini contumeliam, et Monachorum favorem, serio proditas: quumque quidam egregie doctus, sed nasutissimus, fingeret se nonnihil offendi stylo, consolati sunt hominem. Ne spectaris, inquiunt, ô bone, orationis cutem, sed sententiarum vim. Nec hodie deprehendissent, ni quidam, addita epistola, lectorem admonuisset rem non esse seriam.' [Erasmus refers to the penult letter of the second volume, in which Ortuinus is addressed as Omnium Barbarorum defensor, qui clamat more asinino, &c.] 'Post in Brabantia, Prior quidam Dominicanus et Magister noster volens innotescere patribus, coemit acervum eorum libellorum, ut deno mitteret ordinis Proceribus, nihil dubitans quin in ordinis honorem fuissent scriptæ. Quis fungus possit esse stupidior?'

'Quis fungus possit esset stupidior!' Erasmus would have wondered less at the stupidity of the sufferers, and more, perhaps, at the dexterity of the executioner, could he have foreseen that one of the most learned scholars of England, and the most learned of her bibliographers, should have actually *republished* these letters as a serious

work; and that one of our wittiest satirists should have reviewed that publication, without even a suspicion of the lurking Momus. And what is almost equally astonishing, the misprision has never been remarked. In 1710[8], there was printed in London the most elegant edition that has yet appeared of the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, which the editor, Michael Maittaire, gravely represents as the production of their ostensible authors, and takes credit to himself for rescuing, as he imagines, from oblivion, so curious a specimen of conceited ignorance and unconscious absurdity. The edition he dedicates 'Isaaco Bickerstaff, Armigero, Magnæ Britanniæ Censori;' and Steele, in a subsequent number of the Tatler, after acknowledging the compliment, thus notices the book itself: 'The purpose of the work is signified in the dedication, in very elegant language, and fine raillery. It seems this is a collection of letters, which some profound blockheads, who lived before our times, have written in honour of each other, and for their mutual information in each other's absurdities (!). They are mostly of the German nation, whence, from time to time, inundations of writers have flowed, more pernicious to the learned world than the swarms of Goths and Vandals to the politic (!!). It is, methinks, wonderful, that fellows could be awake, and utter such incoherent conceptions, and converse with great gravity like learned men, without the least taste of knowledge or good sense. It would have been an endless labour to have taken any other method of exposing such impertinencies, than by an edition of their own works, where you see their follies, according to the ambition of such virtuosi, in a most correct edition (!!!).' And so forth. The monks are no marvel after this.

These letters have been always, however, a stumbling-block to our English critics and historians. A late accomplished author asserts, that they were written in

[8] A re-impression of this edition, and by the same bookseller (Clements), appeared in 1742. We know not on what grounds Herr Ebert (the highest bibliographical authority certainly in Europe) asserts that this re-impression was, in reality, published in Switzerland. The paper and print seem decidedly English.

imitation of Arias Montanus's version of the Bible. That learned Spaniard was born some ten years subsequent to the supposed parody of his Interpretatio Literalis.

Jortin has made an amusing book out of the life of Erasmus, though but superficially versed in the literary history of the sixteenth century. He has blundered hardly less in regard to the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, than in regard to their great author, Ulric von Hutten. He rarely ventures, indeed, beyond the text of Erasmus and Le Clerc without stumbling. The Jew, Pfefferkorn, he knows only as a writer against the Epistolæ, and is wholly ignorant that these were written, among others, against him. The Epistolæ themselves, which he could never possibly have perused, but with which, of all works, the historian of Erasmus ought to have been familiar, he supposes to have been 'a piece of harmless wit.' Finally, in utter unacquaintance with the Fasciculus of Ortuinus, though himself an historian of the Church, and that remarkable work in ecclesiastical history, republished in England by an English divine, he conceives it to be only a collection of 'Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum,'—a counterpart and precursor, it would appear, to the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, published twenty years before, confusing it probably with the Epistolæ illustrium Virorum ad Reuchlinum.

The only other notice in English literature of this celebrated satire that occurs to us, is an article on the subject which appeared a few years ago in the Retrospective Review. We recollect it only as a meagre and inaccurate compilation from the most superficial authorities.

No question in the history of letters has been more variously determined than that touching the conception and authorship of these celebrated epistles. They have been regarded as the work of an *individual*—of a *few*—and of *many*. Of an *individual*—Jovius, Valerius Andreas, Koch, Opmeer, Maius, Naudé, Gelres, and others, hold Reuchlin himself to have been sole author; Caspar Barthius, J. Thomasius, Morhof, Weislinger, and Schurzfleisch, attribute them exclusively to Hutten; Justus Jonas and Olearius to Crotus. Some have given them to Eobanus Hessus; others to Erasmus; and others to Euricius Cordus; while Goldastus refers them to Brus-

sianus; and Gisbert Voetius to the poet-laureate Glareanus. Of a *few*—Gundling views Reuchlin as the exclusive writer of the first part, assisted by Erasmus and Hutten in the second. In both volumes, Hutten has been regarded as the principal, Crotus as the assistant, by Veller, Meiners, Panzer, and Lobstein; while C. G. Mueller and Erhard view Crotus as sole author of the first volume, and Hutten, perhaps others, as his coadjutors in the second. Angst, as deviser of the whole, and exclusive writer of the first volume, and, with the aid of Hutten, Crotus, and others, as principal author of the second, has found an advocate in Mohnicke. By some anonymous writers Hutten and Eobanus Hessus have been viewed as joint authors of both volumes. Of *many*—Hamelmann bestows the joint honour, among others, on Count Nuenar, Hutten, Reuchlin, and Buschius; to whom Reichenberg adds Erasmus, and Cæsarius; while Freitag divides it between Crotus, Hutten, Buschius, Aesticampianus, Cæsarius, Reuchlin, Pirkheimer, Glandorpius, and Eobanus. Burckhard originally gave the authorship of the whole to Hutten, Nuenar, Reuchlin, Buschius, and Cæsarius, with Stromer and Pirkheimer as probable coadjutors; but after the publication of the Epistola Anonymi ad Crotum to Hutten and Crotus, as inventors and principal writers of both volumes, assisted by Nuenar, Aesticampianus, Buschius, Cæsarius, Reuchlin, Pirkheimer, and possibly Eobanus. Niceron gives them to Hutten, Reuchlin, Nuenar, Crotus, and others. Stoll and Heumannus regard Hutten as the chief author, aided by various friends, among whom the latter particularizes James Fuchs. By Meusel, Crotus is supposed to have conceived the plan, and, along with Hutten, to be the principal writer of the first part, not unaided, however, by Buschius and Aesticampianus; to the composition of the second, Count Nuenar, Pirkheimer, Fuchs, and perhaps others, contributed their assistance. Ruhkopf assumes as authors, Reuchlin, Hutten, Eobanus, Cordus, Crotus, Buschius, &c. Wachler holds Crotus to be the writer of the first volume, Hutten and others to be authors of the second. Finally, Dr. Muench considers Hutten and Crotus as principals, assisted more or less by Eobanus Hessus, Aesticampianus, Buschius, Cæ-

sarius, Pirkheimer, Angst, Franz von Sickingen, and Fuchs.

The preceding summary, which affords a far more complete enumeration than has yet been given of the various opinions on this question, shows how greatly any adequate criticism of the different hypotheses would exceed our limits. Our observations (φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσι) shall only be in supplement to what is already known. Suffice it to say, that as yet there has been adduced no evidence of any weight to establish the co-operation of other writers in these letters besides Ulric von Hutten and Rubianus Crotus; and independent of the general presumption against an extensive partnership, there is proof sufficient to exclude many of the most likely of those to whom the work has been attributed—in particular, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Eobanus. We propose to show that Hutten, Crotus, and Buschius are the joint authors; and this, in regard to the first and last, by evidence not hitherto discovered.

APPENDIX III.

Biographical Notes.

I.

Lapidus returned to Basil after the regulation of the university of Tübingen, and devoted his time to learning, first as canon of the cathedral, and afterwards as Carthusian monk. Here till the year 1494 he wrote his works, De Officio Sacerd., De Passione et Ascensione Domini, &c. He had previously done great service in introducing printing in Paris, where the first press appeared in 1470. See Bulæus, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. v. p. 889, and Crevier, Hist. de l'Academie de Paris, tom. iv. p. 329, &c.

II.

Joh. Wessel, called by Bessarion, Bassilius, according to the fashion of translating names at that time, was born at Gröningen in 1419, and after the early death of his parents brought up by a relation. He received his first literary cultivation at Zwoll, that nursery of so many able men, and there also certainly his free Christian turn of thought, which was here excited and promoted by Thomas à Kempis. This so took possession of his inmost soul, that the scholastic philosophy, as he was made acquainted with it at Cologne, utterly displeased him. On this account he went to Italy, and by his intercourse with Bessarion and others was induced to study Plato and Aristotle in the original. Whether he learnt Hebrew there, or later in his travels, is

not exactly known. From henceforth, indeed, he led a wandering life, sojourned for a while in Heidelberg, then became doctor of theology in Cologne, and remained a long time in Paris. His adversaries called him Magus Contradictionum, from his disputes with the scholastics; but he was obliged to leave Paris, where he had wrought upon Reuchlin and on Rudolf Agricola so advantageously, not merely because he opposed the ruling party there, but rather because he spoke against indulgences, and set forth most luminous and profound views of repentance, namely, 'that it must proceed from love and gratitude alone.' In Basil, where he went, he met Reuchlin again. When Philipp von der Pfalg, 1476, came to the sovereignty, he summoned Wessel to Heidelberg, where he worked several years, though, on account of his great age, not with such power as he did afterwards, Rud. Agricola, Dalberg, Plenningen, and the two brothers Reuchlin. Hence he returned for fear of persecution in 1481 or 1482 to the Netherlands, and spent the latter part of his life in the study of the Bible and of science. He died 1489. Upon Luther's suggestion, Joh. Arnold Bergellanus superintended a collection of his works. The most complete are, that at Gröningen, 1514, 4to, and that of Joh. Lydius, 1617, Arnheim, 4to.

III.

Brucker, in his Hist. Crit. Philos. vol. iv. p. 357, maintains that Wessel was not in Basle, because the Acta of the Univ. take no notice of it: but this proves nothing; Wessel might have remained there for some time as a private teacher, as did Andronicus Cantoblacas, of whose matriculation likewise no trace is to be found in the Acta, at least in the Athenæ Rauricæ (of Prof. Herzog); yet of him it is known, from a letter to Reuchlin, dated, Basle, 1477, and also from Reuchlin's preface to his Rudim. Hebraic. that he was there, and that Reuchlin attended him.—*Brflg. R's* p. 111.

iv.

Eberhard im Bart, son of Louis, Duke of Wirtemberg, and of Matilda, born 1445, on the 11th of December, lost his father in his sixth year. His education, as well as the government of the kingdom, was conducted by his wise and excellent mother; but when she married Duke Albert of Austria, John Fergen became his tutor. He had scarcely attained his twelfth year, 1457, when his elder brother Louis died, and he became sole governor of Upper Wirtemberg. He accomplished his earnest wish to visit Italy in 1469; and partly seeing the corruption of the Church with his own eyes, partly seeing the Reformation in ecclesiastical affairs, and in civil government at the court of his uncle Count-palatine Frederic of Heidelberg, where he remained awhile, had so great an effect on his liberal spirit, that the promotion of education, and thereby of the happiness of his country, became and continued to be his principal endeavour. By the treaty of Münsing he became governor of all Wirtemberg, and ruled it till his death, 1496, to the satisfaction of all his subjects, as father of the constitution of the States, as head of the Swabian league, and after 1496 as duke, to which dignity Maximilian I. raised him.—*Phister's Life of Eberhard im Bart.* 1822. *Tübingen.*

---

v.

The following narrative contributes not a little to acquaint us with the depravity of the Romish nobility: it is found in Manlii l. 2. c. 288, and in Schrepfii Oratio, &c. in Besold. Diss. Jur. Pol. p. 127. Eberhard went to church in Rome accompanied by two cardinals, who were appointed by the pope as a guard of honour. There approached them a man like a beggar, having a bundle of grass upon his head, which he spread out, and, unobserved, drew from it a dagger, with which he stabbed one of these two cardinals, and immediately disappeared in the crowd. This naturally made a very unfavourable

impression upon Eberhard, so that he declared, 'he would never venture into a church in Rome, for they were too dangerous dwellings."

VI.

Meiners, in his account of Rudolph Agricola, follows Majus, who is very ignorant of these times. His real name was Husman or Hausman (he himself translated his name into the Latin, Agricola), and he was born about 1443, in a village of Friesland, not far from Gröningen. By the advice of his teacher, Thomas à Kempis, he went from Zwoll, after he had studied some time in Löwen and Paris, to Italy; here he remained, mostly in Pavia and Ferrara, and heard with much profit George von Trapezunt, Theodore Gaza, Franz Philadelphus, and Laurentius Valla. He soon made a friendly alliance with the young Joh. von Dalberg, who became, in 1482, bishop of Worms, and with Dietrich von Pleiningen or Pleningen. It was at the request of these men that he went to Heidelberg, after having acted as syndic for a while in Gröningen. On this visit he was kindly received by the elector-palatine Philip, who invited him by the most favourable offers to settle in Heidelberg; which he did, though Antwerp made him similar propositions. In 1483, after completing his arrangements, he returned to Heidelberg again from his native country, devoted himself principally to theology, learnt Hebrew from a Jew, and improved his already considerable acquaintance with the Greek language. His fame soon extended itself over all Germany, partly for his learning, partly for his treasure of scarce books. Both jurists and theologians referred to him in their disputes. On the repeated entreaties and inducements of his friend Plenningen he composed his work, De Inventione Dialectica. In 1485 he travelled with Dalberg to Rome, but died soon after his return. He loved external freedom so much, that even this connexion had become burdensome to him; a certain laziness and feebleness hindered strenuous activity; he might

have done much more good by his learning than he did, and is, therefore, inferior to Reuchlin and to Celtes, both in zeal for the promulgation of science, and in the extent of his knowledge. Erasmus, who only praises him, was not honest enough to see this fault. However, it is certain that Agricola's acquirements may be termed remarkable for those times; for no learned man then in Germany outstripped him, especially in the two languages, Greek and Latin, which he wrote well, though somewhat affectedly.

VII.

There was, in North Germany, one place, whence proceeded more than from others literary and biblical information; this was the establishment for education, of Gerhard Groot, in 1384; he was born at Deventer in 1340 (see his life by Thomas à Kempis), and educated in Paris, where he so attached to himself Pierre d'Ailly and Joh. Gerson, by his gentle disposition, that they afterwards continued in closer intimacy with him, when he founded at Deventer a Society (Communis Vitæ Fratres), who occupied themselves in education, preaching, &c. Florentius, his successor, also laboured in the same spirit; and so by the instrumentality of Gerhard Zerbold (commonly Gerhard of Zupten) and Thomas à Kempis, (really Thomas Hämerlin, of Kempe, 1471; translated, according to custom, Malleolus,) there proceeded from this school men of great intellect. Among the pupils of Thomas who were educated in a monastery on Mount St. Agnes, near Zwoll, of which he was superior, are Moritz von Spiegelberg, Rudolf von Lange, Rudolph Agricola, Antonius Liber, Ludwig von Dringenberg, and Alexander Hegius. These six friends were the first of a company animated by the same spirit, who had great influence on the literary cultivation of Germany, and their names deserve no inconsiderable place in the history of the precursors of the Reformation; they promoted it partly in their own persons, and partly by means of their scholars. Count Moritz, for instance, educated his relation, Count

Herman von Nuenar; Rudolph von Lange, Herman von der Busche. Rudolph himself had the great joy of seeing the Reformation spread in Germany, 1529. Alexander Hegius instituted a school in Deventer, whence Erasmus proceeded. Ludwig von Dringenberg recommended to Schettstadt, laboured in South Germany; and Jacob Wimpheling, Beatus Rhenanus, Bilibald Pirkheimer, George Simler, Heinrich Bebel, revered him as a teacher. There remains to be mentioned the learned scholar of Rud. Agricola, Conrad Meissel (Celtes), born in 1459, who visited almost all the principal universities, to establish combinations for learning, and increase by his own teaching the movement towards knowledge already commenced. The Rhenish alliance at Heidelberg, of which the bishop of Worms, Joh. von Dalberg, became protector, was his work. The plan of establishing a still greater, which should extend throughout Germany, was frustrated by his death in 1508. (Reuchlin also belonged to the Rhenish alliance.)

VIII.

We need only glance through the letters of Reuchlin to his friends, and theirs to him, to see how the scarcity of books was a general complaint, as well as an impediment to education. Brfslg. pp. 6, 8, 20, 21, 76, 77, 112, 201. Petrus Jacobi von Arlon writes thus in the year 1488, from Pavia: 'Thou art angry that I have sent thee no Greek books, but thou requirest impossibilities. I have carefully examined (hunted through) every bookstall, but can no where find such. My scholars admire and wonder at thy great store of Greek books; even George Merula said, when he had read the catalogue of thy books, that thou hast many works, which neither he nor other learned Italians possess, although they much wish for them' In a second letter from the same friend in Italy (here Reuchlin first expected to find books), he says, 'I can no where find Pliny, nor yet Livy, but I have bought Strabo for thee; thou wilt receive it as soon as I can find some one to take charge of it.' In 1490,

Gabriel Bossus writes from Mantua, 'I have busied myself day and night to get Homer copied in Latin, as you wished, but there are perpetually some hindrances in the way of the copyist; some parts which he has finished I send; refresh yourself with these meanwhile till the others are ready.' Streler, who, as already mentioned, accompanied Reuchlin's brother to Italy, was also commissioned to buy books, especially a Hebrew Bible; he wrote: 'Here in Florence I find no Greek books, and have not been able to meet with a Hebrew Bible; I can only send you some intelligence upon the subject when Holzlinser returns from Naples, for as yet there are none printed elsewhere; and besides, the great Lorenzo di Medici purchases at any price books offered for sale.'

IX.

Marsilius Ficinus was born at Florence in 1433, and carefully educated by Cosmo di Medici, who observed much talent in him. His father was physician to Cosmo as well as himself, and both were exceedingly beloved by the prince. The young Ficinus entered fully into the plan of Cosmo for reviving the study of Platonism, translated writings of Plato, Plotinus, and Proclus, and established a Platonic academy. One may perceive from his works, that he was not quite faithful to the Platonic philosophy, but mingled with it many fanatical visions of new Platonism. In his book De Immortalitate Animarum ac Æterna Felicitate, which is not free from many superstitions of the times, he assaulted the Aristotelians, who deny the immortality of the soul, the Materialists, and the Averroists, who maintain that the intellect of mankind is but one and eternal, and that the soul of each person is extinct upon its separation from the body. He rightly estimated Platonism as preparatory to Christianity, but erred in considering it as any ground of defence. He died in 1499. His letters, which are important for the establishment of his opinions, first appeared at Florence in 1494.

X.

Joh. Picus di Mirandola, was born in 1463. After he had studied in Bologna, he travelled through Italy and France, to increase the knowledge he had already acquired by much industry, and make himself acquainted with the scholastic-Aristotelian philosophy. This however he soon despised, when from Ficinus he learnt Platonism. He was persuaded that the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies might easily be united, as their difference consisted merely in form, not in subject-matter. To show the possibility of this union, he wrote his Concordia Platonis et Aristotelis. Even as a young man, scarcely twenty-four, in the year 1486 he ventured to propose at Rome a disputation upon nine hundred theses, whose contents were partly theology, dialectics, mathematics, metaphysics, and physics. It did not however take place. Among the theses were the following: Magic is the practical part of natural philosophy; no other science teaches the divinity of Christ with so much certainty as magic and cabala; to practise magic is but to unite in marriage different powers of the universe; each word in magic has its peculiar force, according as it is framed by the voice of God; the following theses are also important for his cabalistic opinions: his Heptaplus, or allegoric explanation of the Mosaic history of the Creation, which he makes to arise from four worlds—the material, the celestial, the super-celestial or intellectual, and the world organized in mankind. He did not retract these opinions till a few years before the end of his life. He opposed astrology by acute and profound arguments, and cured Ficinus himself of this superstition. The year 1494 was one in which the social tie between four intimate friends was broken, by the death of three out of the number: Hermolaus Barbarus, Joh. Picus de Mirandola, and soon after them Politianus left Ficinus only behind.

XI.

Bilibald Pirkheimer was not only a man of intellectual cultivation, for he was equal to the cleverest men of the

time in knowledge of the ancient languages, of theology, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and the arts, besides his judicial acquirements, but he was also a man of profound, thorough, and genuine piety. Together with extraordinary patriotism he possessed great discernment of human nature, and liberal views in politics. He was born in 1479 at Eichstadt, and by the efforts of his well-informed father early received a literary education. As a youth he entered with ardour into the military service; but his father persuaded him out of this taste, and sent him into Italy, to form him for a statesman. When he had cultivated the sciences for about seven years in Padua and Pisa, he was elected senator in Nuremberg. In this town he did so much service in war, in embassies, and in judicial arbitrations, that he was chosen counsellor by the emperor. However he soon emancipated himself from public business (though always ready to help in time of need), to be able to live for literature and his friends, among whom Albrecht Dürer was much indebted to him. He is known as a zealous combatant in Reuchlin's party, and afterwards for the Reformation. He died in 1530. His writings are published by Melchior Goldast, Frankfort, 1610, fol.

XII.

Johann Cuspinian, a man of much talent and knowledge of ancient literature, celebrated as a poet and historian, was born at Schweinfurth: he became a pupil of Celtes; and after having studied at Vienna philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and particularly the belles lettres, received in 1502 the laurel crown from the Emperor Maximilian, soon after the dignity of senator, and the friendship of the emperor, to whom in all situations he was a faithful counsellor. He did much service to Austrian history by his accurate work Historia Austriæ, and enjoyed the affection of his friends till his death, 1529. Joachim Vadianus (von Watt), born at St. Galle, sprang from an illustrious family: his active spirit early showed a love of knowledge, which he endeavoured to cultivate

and increase at Vienna, and the emperor rewarded him by presenting the poet's crown to him in 1514. He travelled far, to obtain materials for his favourite study, geography, upon which he wrote much; and soon added the study of medicine, for which he took a doctor's degree in 1518, and then returned to his native country. At the time of the Reformation he followed the example of the evangelist St. Luke, and was a faithful disciple of the reformers. He sought to contribute to the interpretation of the Bible by his geographical science. As he had acted uprightly and sensibly in his province as senator, so did he from 1526 as consul: he took a share many times in the disputes of the Reformation, and died in its commencement, 1551, faithful to the Gospel.

XIII.

See the Acta Doctorum Parrhisiensium de sacratissima facultate theologica ad honorem duntaxat Jesu Christi et ecclesiæ salutem, contra speculum oculare Joh. Reuchlin Phorc.; una cum sententia ejusdem libelli condemnativa ad ignem, &c. 1514. Colon. 4to. In this is mentioned forty-seven sessions, not sixty-seven, as by Majus and Meiners, nor as Hochstraten maintains in Apol. Sec. p. 4. 47. The brief of the Parisian faculties, on the condemnation of the Augenspiegel, is among the Lettres Choisees of Richard Simon, vol. i. p. 268. The sentence runs thus: 'Librum esse propositionibus, plurimis falsis, temerariis, piarum aurium offensivis, in S. Patres injuriosis, in Christum et ecclesiam blasphemis, hæreseos suspectis, aut etiam hæreticis refertum, ac rogo publico addicendum, auctoremque ad palinodiam cogendum, quibuscum glossis, explicationibus, defensionibusve non obstantibus.' Compare also the Epp. Obsc. Vir. ed. Munich, p. 97. Eighty fathers voted for the condemnation of Reuchlin.

XIV.

Ulrich von Hutten was born at his paternal castle, Stackel, in Franconia, 1488, and had four brothers by the

same mother, Attilie von Eberstein. In his youth, of which unfortunately little is known, he was attacked by several illnesses. The first certain information we have of him is, that in his eleventh year his parents with pious intentions brought him to the monastic school of Fulda. They endeavoured to persuade him into a monastic life, but his relation Eithelwolf von Stein hindered this. Hutten then went to Cologne, the seat of scholasticism, which was so hateful to him; Frankfort, therefore, promised more for his philosophical education. In 1509, when Maximilian went into Italy, he entered the army. His sojourn in Italy was important for the whole course of his life, and he here became acquainted with the iniquities of Rome, which he afterwards attacked with pungent satire. His stay in Rostock, where he went from Italy, was of short duration, as also that in Wittemberg, where he first made himself known by his Metrik. During his journey in Germany he wrote his Nemo; and when he returned to Italy in 1514, in order to devote himself to legal studies in Pavia (which however did not long content him), he wrote his Redlicher, and several other pieces, which he dedicated to the pope. At this time the Archbishop of Mentz received him; and here he had leisure for advancing in literary pursuits. Now, however, many storms assailed his life; the death of two men whom he loved, Eithelwolf von Stein, and his relative, Joh. von Hutten, killed by Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, in 1515, on account of which he published five impeachments against the latter. Both together induced him to leave Germany, which brought him such misfortune, in 1515 (not 1516), to try the study of law once more; but he quickly returned again to his native country, was crowned as poet by Maximilian at Augsburg, and formed an intimate friendship with Jacob Spiegel and Peutinger, and with Camerarius in Bamberg. After these storms he sought repose in his paternal castle, and published the work of Laurentius Valla upon the fabled donation of Constantine, with a somewhat severe dedication to the pope. Even here he did not remain; but there soon followed a journey to France, and, not long after his return, to the court of Albert of Mentz, whom he accompanied to the Diet of Augsburg, where

he wrote his Dialog von Hofleber, and his Gesprach von Fieber, and superintended an edition of Livy. The sound of arms called him in 1519 with the Swabian allied army to oppose the murderer of his relative; but at the close of the war he wielded cutting weapons against the Roman court, by the publication of his Trias Romana (1520). But these and several other writings drew upon him a condemnatory papal brief, and Albert of Mentz was obliged to give him up. The protection which he could not obtain from Charles V. in Brabant, he found with Franz von Sickingen at Ebernburg, where he added considerably to his literary production in the German language. Here he worked energetically for the Reformation; but his fate became more and more adverse, and he received a heavy blow in the death of Franz von Sickingen. Everywhere persecuted, he fled to Basle, where Erasmus received the fugitive in a cowardly way, and, as some declare, procured his banishment from Basle, for the sake of his own safety. In Mühlhausen he wrote his expostulation against Erasmus, who from henceforth took care to persecute him everywhere. By his management Hutten was compelled to leave Mühlhausen; and to deprive him of repose, Erasmus wrote to the magistrates of Zurich, and to Zwinglius, who had received him. Hutten died soon after, a forsaken exile, on the island Ufnan, in the lake of Zurich, in August, 1523, loved and honoured by the learned and Protestant, dreaded by the monks and the Catholic Church, to whom he was a scourge; a man who zealously sought truth, of profound discriminating views, and to whose portraiture belong his own true words to Luther: 'Holy man, thy work is of God, and will stand; mine is human, and will vanish.'

XV.

Nuenar sprang from an ancient noble house, and by a relative, Count Maurice of Spiegelberg, was early initiated in literary pursuits. He improved himself so much in Italy, that he could effect much in Germany for the advantage of his native land. He was known and honoured by all

his contemporaries as a devoted supporter of truth, and a man of considerable attainment. He was provost of the archiepiscopal cathedral at Cologne, the head-quarters of the adversaries of Reuchlin, to whom he was a warm friend. His connexion with the Reformation was in many respects similar to that of Erasmus, for he belonged to those who tried to maintain a medium between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. His services to literature consisted principally in the study of history, to which he gave up his whole mind.

XVI.

Cobanus Hessus, otherwise Göbbehen, was born in 1488, in a Thuringian village, of parents who were not rich. He early cultivated his remarkable talent for poetry; and in Erfurth, where he studied, both his inclination and pursuits led him to Ulrich von Hutten. Their friendship grew with their years, and lasted till the close of Hutten's life. They laboured for each other, and together, in their own cultivation, and that of their contemporaries. Hessus was to have devoted himself to jurisprudence in Erfurth; but, like Hutten, he felt not the slightest inclination to it, but rather aversion, and therefore bestowed all his time and pains on philology and poetry. At the end of the year 1514 he married, and soon after became rector of Erfurth (his friend Crotus Rubianus was so after him). He also was of the deputation who welcomed Luther on his journey to Worms. Unfortunate pecuniary circumstances occasioned his leaving Erfurth, and he became teacher of the Gymnasium in Nuremberg. Afterwards he laboured in Marburg as professor for the diffusion of evangelical doctrine, and died in 1540. See his life by Lossius, Gotha, 1797.

XVII.

Conrad Mutian was born at Hochburg in Hesse, and received his education first in the celebrated school at

Deventer, which has been already mentioned, in which Buschius and Murmelius were brought up by Hegius, who was also his teacher. In Italy he added to his stock of knowledge, and was reckoned one of the most learned men of his time: his acquirements comprehended the Latin and Greek languages, philosophy, theology, and jurisprudence, in which he was made doctor in 1498. When he returned from Italy, the prince of Hesse received him at his court; but the love of knowledge and of quiet led him away from that bustling life to Thuringia, where he accepted a canonry in Gotha, and followed his inclination to diffuse knowledge, till the end of his life in 1526.

XVIII.

Johann Jäger of Dornheim, born in 1480, in Thuringia, gained his learning partly from lectures which he attended in 1504 together with Luther, partly by his own studies in Fulda, where he made a friendly alliance with Hutten, with whom he ridiculed unsparingly the blunders, evil customs, and vices of the times, by caustic satire and inexhaustible energy, and embittered the contest with the Obscurants by circulating a multitude of epigrams, dialogues, and satires. In 1515 Crotus became professor in Erfurth, and remained there a favourer of the Reformation, probably till 1523. In later times, however, after his return to Prussia, where he lived seven years, he suffered himself to be led by the bribery of the archbishop Albert of Mentz, not only to apostatize from the Protestant party, but even to oppose it.

XIX.

Stromer was born in Misnia of illustrious parents, attended the town school there, afterwards studied philosophy and medicine in Leipsic, became senator there, and by his profound erudition won not only the respect of the learned of that day, but also of the archbishop Albert of Mentz, who made him his physician. He was in com-

munication with the most learned men by a constant interchange of letters, and was by them drawn into the Reuchlinist confederacy.

XX.

Jacob Spiegel, nephew of Beatus Rhenatus, was born at Schlettstadt, in 1483, educated by Wimpheling, and studied first in Freiburg. Zozius became attached to him, and took him into the list of his intimate friends. He lived in Strasburg as imperial counsellor, occupied himself much in literature, published the Progymn. of Reuchlin with annotations, and was still flourishing in 1538. He is known through his Lexicon of Civil Law.

XXI.

Peutinger was born at Augsburg, in 1465, of patrician family, studied philosophy and jurisprudence in various Italian universities, became doctor in both faculties, and in 1493, Syndicus of his native town, for which he gained, among other privileges, that of coining money. He possessed a considerable library, and is known by the chart named after him (Tabula Peutingeriana). He was the first who published a collection of Roman Inscriptions, in his little work, Romanæ Vetustatis Fragmenta. He died in 1547.

XXII.

Spalatin was born at Spält, in the bishopric of Eichstadt, in 1482, and took a name from his birth-place Spalatinus, instead of his own name, George Burchardt. Here, and a little after in Nuremberg, he received good instruction, and in 1499 visited the university of Erfurth, in which he first became acquainted with Luther. In 1502 he went as M.A.

to Wittemberg, but left this university again in 1505, to devote himself in Erfurth to the study of law and history. Next to these, theology was his favourite pursuit; and becoming more and more so, he was made priest at Hohenkirchen in 1507, then provost in the convent Gorgenthal, and in 1509 tutor to Joh. Frederic, son of the elector of Saxony. The elector became attached to him, made him court preacher, and private secretary, bestowed on him the canonry of Altenburg, and in 1625 the superintendency there, where he laboured most earnestly for the Reformation till the end of his life, in 1545. How much Spalatin valued Reuchlin is apparent from, among other things, some lines which he wrote on the fly-leaf of a copy of Reuchlin's Art. Cabal. which he sent to the abbey of Posau. (Communicated by Herr Professor Veesenmeyer in his collection of treatises illustrating the history of the Church, of literature, of finance, and of manners, in the sixteenth century. Ulm, 1827. p. 195.)

Munus habe hoc a me, veneranda Posaugia, semper
Proque mea Christo ferto salute preces.
Hanc te, quæso, vicem fautori pende fideli;
Gratius hoc omni munere munus erit.
Capnionis nomen toti venerabile mundo
Clarius hinc noscet, si modo cuncta legas.
Hoc duce vel veteres superat Germania Musas,
Noxia quantumvis barbara turba paret.
Gloria sic nostris, sic priscis maxima crevit,
Hoc decus ad verum splendida porta patet.

MDXVII.

Some Anecdotes about Capnion preserved by Manlius in his Loc. Com. Collect.

Page 395.—Capnion used to say of those who blamed all, that they were like flies, which tainted every thing, and did no good.

Page 410.—Reuchlin on a journey came at noon to a town, where he had to stay some hours. On account of

the continued cold, many peasants were assembled in the common room of the inn, who made such a noise, that it was quite impossible for him to read a book, as he wished to do, not having suitable companions. He therefore asked for a cup of water and a piece of chalk, with which he made a circle on the table, and a cross within it; on the right of the cross he set the cup, and on the left stuck a knife into the table, and placed the book he had with him within the circle. The peasants, curious to know what Reuchlin was about, came around and waited for what was to follow in perfect stillness, looking at one another, during which he gained time to read undisturbed.

Page 433.—When Capnion was once a guest at the table of the Duke of Wirtemberg, the latter placed before him a piece of venison. As he tried to take it upon his knife in courtly fashion, it fell into his cup. He hastened to take it out, but in his hurry turned over the cup, and spilt the water on the table. Manlius remarks:—thus it often happens, that in striving to mend one blunder, one makes a still greater.

Page 541.—Reuchlin said of one who devoted himself to jurisprudence,—in the first year he knows how to decide all causes, in the second he begins to be uncertain, in the third he acknowledges that he knows nothing, and then he first begins to learn.

APPENDIX IV.

Reuchlin's Works, and their various Editions.

THE editions of all the works which I can give with certainty,—the greater number of which either I myself, or Professor Schnurrer (in his literary and biographical notices of former professors in Tübingen; Ulm, 1792,) have seen and possessed,—shall be distinguished by an asterisk.

Before I enumerate the generally known writings of Reuchlin, I must mention those not hitherto considered, which are communicated by a pupil of Reuchlin's, the Abbot Tritheim, in his book De Scriptoribus Germaniæ, 1495, under the article Joh. Reuchlin. He ended this work in 1494. Some of these writings I also found confirmed by the Briefsammlung of Reuchlin.

1. De Præexercitamentis Rhetoricis, lib. i.
2. De Diversitate Quatuor Idiomatum Græcæ Linguæ, lib. i.
3. Epigrammatôn et Elegiarum lib. i.
4. Oratio Funebris in Mortem Rud. Agricolæ.
5. Orationes Scholasticæ (sine numero plures).

Translations from Greek into Latin.

1. Xenophontis Apologia pro Socrate.

(See the letter of Leontorius to Wimpheling before the work De Verbo Mirifico by Reuchlin, where he says:—'Transtulit Reuchlinus plerasque orationes adolescens,

quarum aliquæ, nisi fallor, sunt Xenophontis in Socratis defensionem confictæ; condidit carmina multa et jucunda; conscripsit plerasque epistolares disputationes, quas sententiis Græcorum, etiam Hebræorum refersit).

2. Nestorius Hæreticus, quem S. Cyrillus Episcopus in concilio Ephesino convicit. (The occasion of this was an old manuscript which he bought, entitled—Historia Synodi Ephesinæ. See Majus, Vita Reuchlini, p. 525.)

3. Confessio cujusdam Cypriani Græci.

4. Proclus de Laudibus Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis.

5. Lucianus, aliqui Mortuorum Dialogi.

6. Dialogus de Concilio Deorum.

7. Monomachia Iliados Homeri de Paridis et Menelai Duello (translated into German verse).

8. Epiphanius de Vita et Morte Prophetarum.

9. Syrius Platonicus philosophus in oratione, Si Deus fecit bona, unde veniant mala? (He was probably induced to publish this likewise by a manuscript which he possessed. See Bismark's dissertation upon Reuchlin, 1610.) Trithemius adds: 'Alia insuper nonnulla traduxit, quæ a memoria nostra jam tulit oblivio. Epistolas scripsit tam ad me, quam ad alios.'

Besides these, Joh. Lycæus mentions, Ex Lupis de Hermannsgrün. (Brfslg. p. 25.)

A Translation of the Philippics of Demosthenes, which F. Wilken mentions in his history of the ancient collection of books in Heidelberg: Heidelberg, 1817, p. 112 and 489.

Reuchlin's translation of the Tusculan dialogues of Cicero, which is extant in the library of Heidelberg, dedicated to the Count Palatine Philip, with notes by Reuchlin's own hand, in 1501.

The Greek Grammar, *Μικροπαιδεία*, which Reuchlin composed in 1479 for the sake of his lectures in Poitiers, has not to my knowledge been printed.

Vocabularius Breviloquus. The brothers Amerbach induced Reuchlin to compose this work during his sojourn in Basle from 1474 to 1478; and probably the first edition of this dictionary appeared then. There are now two editions without place or date; one, however, came out with the Ars Diphthongandi of Guarini Veronensis; and its printing shows a later date. To the latter editions of

Reuchlin's dictionary the Ars Diphthongandi of Guarini Veronensis, besides the Compendiosus Dialogus de Arte Punctandi, and a Tractatus Utilis de Accentu, were prefixed, while Reuchlin's preface to the work generally remained, which contradicts the error that the dictionary was by Guarini. The printing of the other edition, without place and date, in Gothic type, betrays great antiquity: in it also are missing the treatises afterwards prefixed. I should consider this edition the oldest, it is called:

*1. Vocabularis fructuosus omni etati et ex Papia Britone, Catholicon, Alario, Ysidoro aliisque quam plurimis Magistris collectus, qui alio nomine Breviloquus nuncupatur; incipit ad laudem Dei feliciter. fol. (about the year 1476 or 1477.)

2. Vocabularius Latinus, Breviloquus dictus. Præit Editoris Anonymi Præfatio: contains those treatises by Guarini. In fine: Finit Vocabularius Breviloquus triplici Alphabeto diversis ex autoribus, nec non corpore utriusque juris collectus, ad Latinum Sermonem capessendum utilissimus. Fol. Basileæ. 1478.

See Weisslinger, Arment. Cathol. and Panzer's Annales Typographici, i. p. 150. 18.

3. 1480. Basil. (Joh. de Amerbach.) fol. See Seemiller, Bibliotheca Academiæ Ingolstadiensis incunab. Typogr. fasc. 2. p. 65, and Panzer, i. 152. 28.

4. Basil. Joh. de Amerbach. 1481. fol. Panzer, i. 154.

5. 1482. fol. i. 135.

6. Lugduni, Petrus Ungari, 1482. fol. See Gemeiner Nachrichten von den in der Regensburger Stadtbibliothek befindlichen merkwürdigen und seltnen Büchern aus dem 15 Sec.

7. Basil. 1485. fol.

*8. Basileæ. Nicolaus Kesler, 1486. fol.

*9. Colon. 1486. fol. See Weisslinger and Panzer, 9th vol. p. 223.

10. Colon. 1487. Panzer, fol. i. 297.

*11. Argentorati. 1488. fol.

12. Basil. 1488. fol. Weisslinger.

13. Argent. 1489. fol. Panzer, v. p. 452.

14. Mediolani, 1490. fol. Panzer.

15. Argentorati, 1491. fol.

16. Mediol. 1492. 4to.

*17. Argentorati, 1493. fol.
*18. Norimbergæ.
*19. Argent. 1495. fol.
20. Argent. 1496. Panzer.
21. Norimberg. Koburger. 1498. Panzer.
22. Sine loco et anno.
23. Argent. 1504. 4to. Panzer.

De Verbo Mirifico, libri 3.

1. (Basil. 1495) sine loco et anno. In fine: Johannis Reuchlin Phorcensis (Capnion) vel de Verbo Mirifico, lib. tert. finit fœliciter.

This is the first edition. Reuchlin sent it to be printed by Amorbach in 1494; and the Cistercian monk, Conrad Leontorius of Maubbroom, in passing through Basle, received the first copy from Amorbach, as we see by a letter from him to Reuchlin, dated tertio Kal. April. 1495. (Brfslg. p. 56.) He already knew the contents of the work, probably he had seen it in Reuchlin's possession. This is proved by a letter prefixed to the work, from Leontorius to Jacobus Wimpheling, dated Spires, 11th May, 1494. In this letter he reminded Wimpheling to include the name of Reuchlin among the learned men enumerated by Tritheim, whose work was already in the hands of Amorbach; for which reason Wimpheling sent the letter of Leontorius to Amorbach, who not only inserted the name and writings of Reuchlin in the catalogue clarorum virorum, but prefixed the letter of Leontorius to Reuchlin's work, which he had already received for the press. It has been supposed, from this letter from Leontorius, and his acquaintance with Reuchlin's work, before it appeared in Basle, that an edition had already appeared at Spires in 1494; but however easily this notion may arise from that letter, dated Spires, 1494, in which it is imagined that the time and place of printing are indicated, the words of Leontorius himself to Reuchlin,—in which he excuses himself for the prefixing of his letter, and, among other things, says, 'Nesciebam opus tuum chalcographo esse datum, nesciebam te extremam imposuisse manum,'—certainly affirm on the contrary, that the printing was first committed to Amorbach. I remark also, that in many of these editions, errors of

the press are noticed, in others not; for Sebastian Brant caused them to be subjoined to the copies not sold, at Reuchlin's request, in the same year, 1495; (see Reuchlin's Brfslg. p. 47.) which circumstance tells against the inference for various editions without time or place.

An edition, Venetiis, 1486, is set aside by the above-mentioned.

*2. Tübing. ex ædibus Thomæ Anshelmi, 1514. fol. with advertisement of errors of the press, without paging.

*3. Lugdun. ap. Joh. Tornæsium. 1522. 16.

(Mieron's Nachrichten, tom. xxiii. Panzer.)

*4. Coloniæ, ex officina Eucharii. 1532. small 8vo, without paging.

*5. Lugdun. ap. Joh. Tornæs. 1552. 12.

*6. Basle, 1561. fol.

(With the inscription, within a wreathed snake, 'Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris'.)

7. Basle, 1597. (Du Pin, Nouv. Biblioth. Des Auteurs Eccl. vol. xiv. p. 4.) with other cabalistic writings.

8. It is also to be found in Petri Galatini opus de Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis. Bas. 1550. fol. 1561. Frankfort, 1675. fol. &c.

9. Artis Cabalist. h. e. Reconditæ Theolog. et Philos. Scriptores, tom. i. Bas. 1587. fol. Buhle, Geschichte der Philosophie seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften, mentions an edition of this work in 1578; whether only an error of the press, or actually existing. He names Joh. Pistorius as the publisher of this collection, of which only the first part appeared.

Epitome Historiarum secundum seriem 4 monarchiarum, of which Reuchlin was probably joint author, in 1497 or 1498. See Melanchthon in Orat. de Capn. and Majus, Vit. Reuchlini, p. 193. 555. Manlius, in Loc. Com. Collect. p. 593, (says Melanchthon,) remembers Capnion relating that he had been at the electoral court with Rud. Agricola, the bishop of Dalberg, and other remarkable men; this must, according to the biography of Reuchlin, have been in 1497 and 1498;) that the prince having often heard them speak of history, had begged them to compose a short abstract of universal history; that he took on himself the expense of this compilation: therefore Capnion and Agricola framed this work from the

remains of ancient authors The prince had been so delighted with it, that he had read it daily. Melanchthon, or the narrator Manlius, believed that it was then in the library of the palatinate.

It is a mistake that Rud. Agricola had any share in this, for he died in 1485; but it is likely that the prince had formerly requested the composition of such a work from Agricola, which was, however, not completed. See ap Rud. Agricol. vol. ii. p. 442.

Scenica Progymnasmata, h. e. ludicra præexercitamenta.

1. Argent. per Joh. Grüninger. 1497. 4to. (Panzer.)

*2. Basil. 1498, Maj. 4to. Nihil sine causa. Joh. Bergman de Alpe, who also contributed a letter to it, possessed this edition (archidiaconus grandis vallis). Burkhard. De Fat. Ling. Lat. p. 258. See also Ebert under Reuchlin.

*3. Argent. ap. Grüninger. bound up with Brant's Carmina, 1498. 4to.

4. Lips. 1503. 4to. (Panzer.)

5. Phorc. 1507. 4to, ap. Thom. Anshelm.

*6. —— 1508. 4to.

*7. —— 1508. 4to, cum commentario Georgii Simleri. The names of the youths who performed the comedy, are added at the end.

*8. Phorc. 1539. 4to.

9. Monasteri. 1509. 4to. (Panzer.)

10. Phorc. 1511. 4to (Schnurrer.)

11. Tübing. 1511. 4to.

*12. Tübing. 1512. 4to. Anshelm. cum explanatione Jacobi Spiegel Selestani.

*13. Daventri, in officina litteraria industrii viri probatique opificis Theodorici de Borne, 1513. Sext. Non. April. 4to.

14. Lips. 1514, 4to. ap. Jacobum Thanner. (Panzer.)

*15. Vindob. 1514. ap. Hier. Vietor.

*16. Lips. 1515. 4. Val. Schumann.

17. Colon. 1515. 4to. (Panzer.)

18. Hagen. 1515. (Schnurrer.)

19. Tübing 1516. ap. Thom. Anshelm. (Mieron, Panzer.)

*20. Lips. ap. Valent. Schumann. 1518. 4to.

21. Hagen. 1519. 4to. ap. Anshelm. (Panzer.)
22. Lips. 1519. 4to. ap. Val. Schumann. (Panzer.)
23. —— 1521. 4to. (Panzer.)
24. Vindobon. 1523. ap. Singren. (Panzer.)
25. Colon. 1534. 8vo. (Panzer.)
26. —— 1537. 12mo. per Joh. Chymnitz, and also Sergius (Mieron).
*27. Magdeburg. 1614. 8vo, Henno Comœdiola rustico ludicra, nunc iterum publicata. (In volum. Miscell. Dramat. 1564—1665.)
28. Basil. p. Alpe, s. a. (1503.) (Panzer.)
*29. Lips. 4to, p. Schumann. s. a.
* This comedy is translated by Hans Sachs in his works.
Schnurrer mentions another translation of Jacob Klyber in Volkark. Strasburg, 1558.

*1. Joh. R. Phorcens. legum doctoris Oratio ad Alexandrum 6. Pont. M. pro Philippo Bavariæ Duce, Palatino Rheni Sacri Romani imperii electore. Venetiis, Cal. Sept. 1498, in ædibus Aldi Manutii Romani. 8vo. 12 sheets without title. According to Ebert's description, the paper-mark is a circle with a balance in it.
It is also to be found in the collection of Reuchlin's Letters, Hagen. 1519. in Maji Vit. R. p. 195.

Sergius vel Capitis caput.
1. Sine loco et anno. (perhaps Heidelberg, 1498.)
*2. Phorc. Anshelm. 1507. 4to. (Ebert considers this the first edition) cum com. Simleri, and a letter to Reuchlin.
* Phorcæ, 1508. 4to, cum com. Simleri. Anshelm.
Tübing. 1513. 4to, cum Siml. com. Ansh. (Mieron.)
—— 1518. 4to. (Mieron.)
Lips. 1520. 4to. Valent. Schumann. (Schnurrer.)
—— 1521. 4to, without com. (Mieron.)
Colon. 1537. 12mo, contains also (see above) the Scenic. Prog. (Ebert.)
Joh. R. Phorc. LL. Dr. Liber Congestorum de Arte Prædicandi.
1. Phorc. 1504. 4to. Udalrici Charinti et Georgii Simleri Carmina ad lectorem. (Panzer.)

*2. Phorc. 1508. 4to.

3. Is also to be found in the work De Arte Concionandi formulæ ut breves, ita doctæ et piæ. Johanne Reuchlino Phorc., anonymo quodam rhapsodo, Phil. Melanchthone, D. Johanne Hepino Auctoribus. Bas. 1540.

Lugd. Lond. 1570. (according to Du Pin, Nouv. Biblioth. des Auteurs), &c.

* Doctor Johanns Reuchlins tütsch missive. warumb die Jüde so long in ellend sind. Am Ende datum in Wyhenacht fyertagen zu einem guten seligen jar. Ad annum, 1505. Gedruckt zu Pfortzheim.

This very scarce work of Reuchlin's consists of six 4to sheets. The Hebrew passages in rabbinical writing. It is in the library of Stuttgard, whence I received a copy through the kindness of Dr. Stalin.

Rudimenta Hebraica.

*1. Phorc. 1506, fol. in ædibus Thom. Anshelmi, sexto Kal. April., with his printer's mark, which is after the annexed letter of George Simler to Anshelm.

On the last leaf but one is Reuchlin's coat-of-arms; on the altar this inscription, 'Ara Capnionis.' See the coat-of-arms, below.

Reuchlin caused this book to be begun backwards, and at the 1st page are the words, 'principium libri;' at page 2 begins Reuchlin's preface to his brother Dionysius. Each of the three parts of this work has a separate preface, and at the end of the book are the words, 'Exegi monumentum ære perennius nonis Martiis anno 1506.' On the first page, the words: Finis libri.

Canon.

Non est liber legendus hic ceu cæteri,
Faciem sinistra, dextera dorsum tene.
Et de sinistra paginas ad dexteram
Quacunque verte: quæ latina videris
Legito latini: hebræa, si sint insita,
Ad dextera legenda sunt sinistrorsum.

*2. Joannis Reuchlini Phorc. primi Græcæ et sacræ Hebraicæ Linguæ adeoque meliorum literarum omnium in Germania autoris, in Galliis vero et Italia vindicis,

Lexicon Hebraicum et in Hebræorum Grammaticen commentarii, quibus ea, quæ requiri utiliterque addi posse videbantur, ex Eliae longe utilissimis institutionibus accreverunt. Lexico quoque præter complures Scripturæ locos, qui citantur, Hebraicos factos, ingens accessit dictionum numerus. Ita Lucubrationes a Capnione felicissime ceptæ, non minus feliciter Dei Opt. Max. ope, Sebastiani Munsteri opera et non levibus vigiliis absolutæ sunt.

Basileæ, apud Henricum Petrum. Mense Martio, anno 1537.

Sebastian Münster, as may be seen by the preface on the following page, furnished the grammar more particularly, and added the derivatives to the radical words given in the Lexicon. He first gives the grammar in one part, and the lexicon in a second. The printer's mark on the last page.

(Niceron has 1573, probably an error of the press.)

* Dok. Johannsen Reuchlin's.

der K. M. als Ertzhertzogen zu Oesterreich auch Churfürsten and fürsten gemainen Bundtrichters im Schwaben warhafftige entschuldigung gegen und wider ains getaufften juden genannt Pfefferkorn vormals getruckt ussgangen unwahrhaftigs Schmachbüchlin.

Augenspiegel,

Tübingen, 1511. Anshelm, 4to.

* Printed in Hermann v. d. Hardt's Historia Lit. Reform. Frankf. and Leipzig, 1717, fol.

* Ain clare verstentnus in tütsch uff Doctor Johannsen Reuchlin's ratschlag von den juden Büchern vormals auch zu latin imm Augenspiegel ussgangen. At the end, Geben am 22 tag des mertzen, im fünfzehen hundert und zwölften jar. Tübingen, 4to.

* Hippocrates de Præparatione Hominis ad Ptolemæum regem, nuper e Græco in Latinum traductus a Johanne Reuchlino, Phorc. leg. imperialium doctore. Tübing. 1512, in æd Thom. Anshelmi.

Reuchlin dedicated this work to the M. D. Stocarus, who was triumvir with him as judge of alliance. He first acknowledged that he did not know to which Hippocrates it belonged, for the learned enumerated seven men of that name. He shows in it, that the Jews had transmitted the healing art to the Egyptians, and they to the Greeks.

Septem Psalmi Pœnitentiales Hebraici, cum grammatica tralatione Latina.

*1. Joannis Reuchlin Phorc. LL. Dr. in Septem Psalmos Poenitentiales Hebraicos Interpretatio de verbo ad verbum, et super eisdem commentarioli sui, ad discendam linguam Hebraicam ex rudimentis.

Tübing. ap. Thom. Anshelmum Badens. 1512. 8vo.

*2. Vuitembergæ, apud Joseph Clugum, 1529. 8vo. (Panzer has both editions.)

Herm. v. d. Hardt has the preface to this work in his progr. var. in dem Jubilæum Reuchlini Symbolicum, p. 16.

Rabi Joseph Hyssopæus Parpinianensis Judæorum Poeta dulcissimus ex Hebraica lingua in Latinam traductus. A Joh. Reuchlino Phorc.

*1. Tübing. 1512. 4to. ap. Anshelm.

2. ——— 1514. 4to. (Schnurrer.)

3. ——— 1516. 4to.

* Printed in Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. tom. IV. p. 1135.

The translation has the title, Lanx Argentea ex Hebraica in Latinum tralata, Joa. Reuchlino interprete, metro iambico hipponactico juxta versum eversu. 262 verses.

Reuchlin translated it for its fluency and elegance, and also for its beautiful completeness. See the preface.

Defensio Jo. Reuchlini Phorc. LL. Dr. contra calumniatores suos Colonienses.

*1. Tübing. ap. Th. Anshelm Bad. 1513. 4to.

*2. ——— 1514.

* Printed in H. v. d. Hardt. Hist. Lit. Ref.

* Constantinus magnus Romanorum imperator Joanne Reuchlini Phorc. interprete, Tübing. August, 1513. 4to,

ap. Thom. Ansh. Deutsche Schrift Reuchlin's gegen das unrechtlichte Verfahren der Cölner Mönche, 1514. Cited in the Actii and its contents given. See H. v. d. Hardt. Acta, p. 105.

Libellus Joannis Reuchlini, LL. Dr. coram judice apostolico in secunda instantia super oculari speculo contra fratrem Jacobum Hogstraten propositus, 1514, printed. (See Herm. v. d. H. Acta.)

* S. Athanasius in Librum Psalmorum nuper a Joanne Reuchlino integre translatus. At the end, Capnion e Græco in Latinum traduxit pridie Idus Sextiles, 1515. 4to, Tübing. ap. Anshelm.

Joannis Reuchlini de Arte Cabbalistica libri tres Leoni X. dicati cum privilegio imperiali.

*1. Hagen. ap. Thom. Anshelm, mense Martio, 1517, fol. 5, De Arte Cabb. lib. iii. jam denuo accurate revisi, Hag. 1530, fol. Also to be found in—

*1. Petri Galatini Opus de Arcanis Cathol. Verit. Basil. 1550, fol. 1561, fol. Frankf. 1672, fol.

*2. Artis Cab., hoc est, reconditæ Theologiæ et Philos. Script. tom. i. Basil. 1587.

3. Recueil des Cabbalistiques. Basil. 1550, fol.

4. Joh. Pici Opera Omnia. Basil. 1557.

* De Accentibus et Orthographia Linguæ Hebraicæ, a Joanne Reuchlin, LL. Dr. libri tres cardinali Hadriano dicati. Hagen, in ædibus Thom. Ansh. Bad. 1518, Feb. 4to.

The first work on this subject.

* Acta Judiciorum inter Jacobum Hogstraten et Joh. R. ex registro publico authentico et sigillato.

Hagen. 1518. 4to, ap. Anshelmum. In fine: Judicent præsentes et posteri.

Printed in Herm. v. d. Hardt. Hist. Lit. Ref.

* Liber S. Athanasii de Variis Quæstionibus nuper e Græco in Latinum traductus, Joanne Reuchlino interprete. Adhuc item annotationes Capnionæ. At the end:

Hagen. ex officina Thomæ Anshelmi Bad. anno incarnacionis 1519, mense Martio, 4to.

Dedicated to the cardinal archbishop of Mentz, Albert of Brandenburg, and in which he wishes him joy of his newly-attained dignity of the Cardinalate.

In several later editions of the works of Athanasius, this translation without the annotat. is included.

* Paris, 1520.

* Strassburg, 1522, fol. by Knoblanch.

Cologne, 1532, 8vo.

As to the occasion of publishing this work, he says the similarity of his persecutions to those of Athanasius induced him to do it.

* *Ξενοφῶντος Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους. Ἀγησίλαος, Ἱέρων ἢ τυραννικὸς*, Hagen. 1520. 4to, ex officina Anshelmi. Jun. With a Latin preface to Joh. Secerius Lauchensis from Ingolstadt. This edition is in possession of Herr Prof. Veesenmeyer in Ulm, who says of it: 'The text appears upon comparison to be taken from a manuscript.'

*1. *Τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἑξόντων ῥητόρων Αἰσχίνου καὶ Δημοσθένους λόγοι ἀντίπαλοι*, Hagen. ex academia Anshelmiana. 1522, April. mens. 4to. Reuchlin's Latin dedication to Thomas Anshelm is dated Tubingæ, Idibus Januariis ann. 1522. He begs that the latter would print these speeches as soon as possible, and send copies of them to Tübingen, that they may be lectured upon there. (See Schnurrer.)

*2. Parisiis excudebat Christianus Wechelus, sub scuto Basiliensi, in vico Jacobæo, ann. 1531. 4to. With Reuchlin's epistle to Anshelm.

* Ineditum Joannis Reuchlini Phorcensis Suevi, I.V.D. Tübingensis, primi seculo 15 apud Germanos Græcæ Linguæ instauratoris, Colloquium Græco-Latinum, anno 1489 Stuttgardiæ concinnatum, et episcopo Wormatiensi, Joanni Dalburgio, elegantiarum literarum illo ævo præsidi, missum. ex mscto, a. 1508, a Nicolao Basellio monacho Hirsaugiensi exarato, in elegantium Brunsvicensium Scholarum Græca studia solide et curate colentium oblectationem, a. 1739, in academia Julia recensuit Anth. Jul. V. d. Hardt Brunsvicensis.

Helmstädt, 8vo, 24 pages.

Reuchlin had a scheme of publishing the works of Jerome, but was prevented executing it, in 1509. (See Brfslg. p. 48.) Amorbach wrote to Reuchlin, and requested him to undertake the collation and correction of the Greek with the Hebrew in Jerome's commentary on the prophets which he was publishing; to which probably

Reuchlin consented, for Amorbach could not have found any other man in Germany to do it.

For the above-mentioned Chronicle of Naucler, in 1500, Reuchlin wrote the preface, which is still extant in several later editions, brought out by Basilius in 1516 at Tübingen, and at Cologne in 1544. (Panzer.)

Denis, Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte, (see Schnurrer,) p. 366, cites a book in the imperial library with this title:

Homeri Batrachomyomachia, Joanne Capnione metaphraste. Capnionis ad Erhartum confessorem Epigramma modestissimum. Vienn. 1510. 4to. (Panzer edition of 1516. 4to, somewhat differently.) I have met with no quotation from this work in any letter or writing of Reuchlin with which I am at present acquainted; there may, perhaps, be a preface to it, from which more may be learned.

Reuchlin's Letters.

*1. Tübing. Thom. Ansh. 1514. 4to.

*2. Illustrium Virorum Epistolæ, Hebraicæ et Latinæ, ad Joannem Reuchlinum Phorcensem, virum nostra ætate doctissimum, diversis temporibus missæ, quibus jam pridem additus est liber secundus nunquam antea editus.

Reuchlinistarum exercituum pagina invenies mox sequenti. In fine: Hagen. 1519, mens. Martio. 4to.

A third book promised at the end did not appear, although there was another impression of the first edition.

3. Tigur. ap. Christ. Froschauerum, 1568. 8vo, must be an impression of the first edition.

Epistolæ trium virorum (Reuchlini, Hermanni Buschii, Hutteni) ad Herm. Comitem de Nuenar. Ejusdem responsoria una ad Joannem Reuchlinum, et altera ad lectorem.

*1. Coloniæ, apud Euchar. Cervicorum, 1518. 4to.

*2. Selstadii, 1519. 4to.

*3. (Mogunt.) 4to, s. a.

Reuchlin bequeathed his considerable collection of books to the monastery of St. Michael, at Phorzheim, upon condition they should be placed in the castle church of that place, which was his book repository.

According to May's account [1], the books were brought to Weilerstadt, in the thirty years' war [2]; and now the library of Carlsruhe possesses a considerable number of them. Schnurrer says, that in Stuttgart, Tübingen, and Carlsruhe, there are many relics of learning, whose publication would be very useful in the history of his times, and would do still more honour to the memory of this remarkable man [3]. Every friend of Reuchlin's fully agrees in the words and wishes of the honourable professor Schnurrer: 'Reuchlin has certainly merits, great, manifold, extraordinary merits: may he receive a memorial worthy of him. As yet, his only monument is, that which his own efforts have raised—his writings [4].'

[1] He first bequeathed his library to Melanchthon, but afterwards, when at variance with him, it is not known on what grounds, he retracted his first will: it was said that Reuchlin did not approve Luther's conduct, and severely reproved Melanchthon for his active participation in this reformation, which he thought too vehemently carried on. I cannot decide, for want of accurate information, although I think it probable that the old man, trammeled in many ways, considered this unexpected violent reformation dangerous.

[2] See Gehres kleine Chronik der Stadt Phorzheim, 1815, 8vo.

[3] At the university library, at Giessen, (not at Frankfort a. M. as is given on the portrait by mistake,) there is a successful half-length of Reuchlin in oils.

[4] The Latin fellowship of the grand-duke of Baden, at Carlsruhe, revived the memory of Reuchlin at the commemoration. Elogium Reuchlini, autore Brunn. in Actis Societ. Lat. Badens. inaugur.

THE END.

London: Gilbert & Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square.

00024026

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016